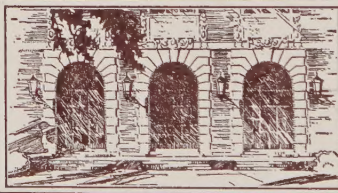
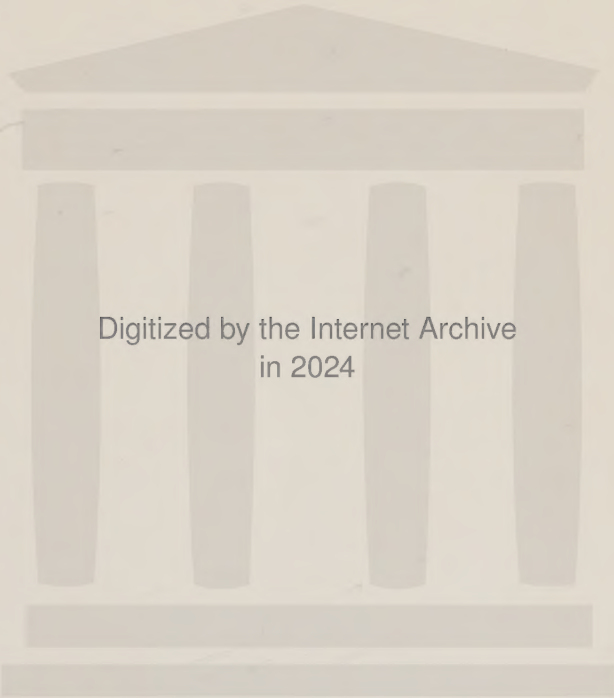


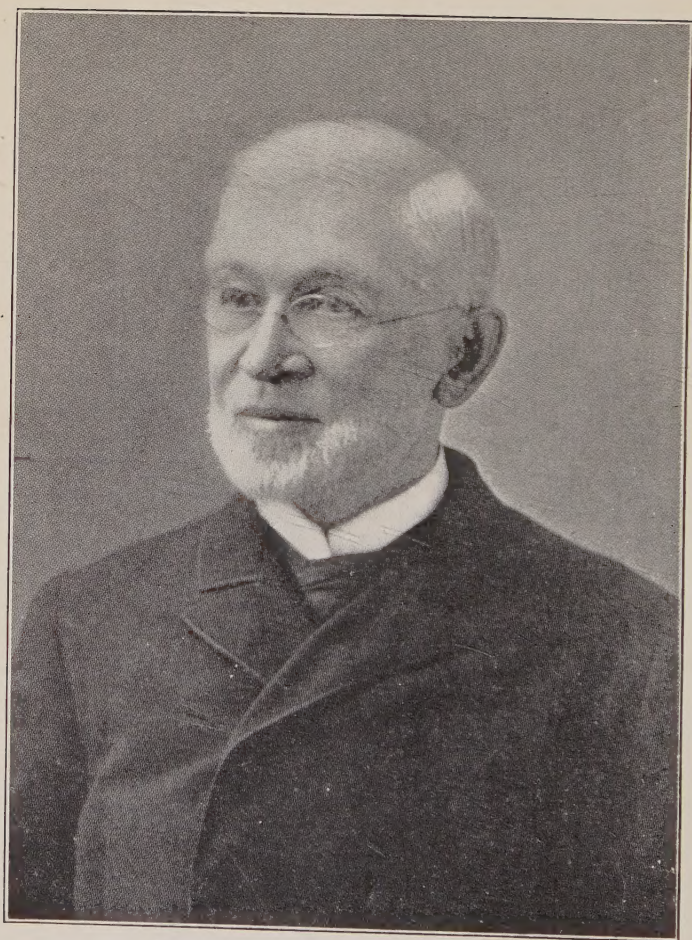
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Archives





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024



JOHN MILTON GREGORY

JOHN MILTON GREGORY

John Milton Gregory

A Biography

BY

ALLENE GREGORY



CHICAGO
COVICI-McGEE Co.
1923

Copyright 1923
Covici-McGee Co.
Chicago

FROM THE PRESS OF
E. W. STEPHENS COMPANY
COLUMBIA MISSOURI

To

PRESIDENT EMERITUS EDMUND JANES JAMES

FOREWORD

FOR you, students of John Milton Gregory, this book was written, and for those who have felt as you have felt the power of a great teacher. You who have often told me of your debt to the full and many-sided life which poured itself so freely into your young lives, you most of all will understand how such a power transcends the institutions which it may form and use for a time, transcends all books and records which are its faint reflection, and lives on and on in the lives it has touched and enkindled, spreading through them in ever widening circles the living spirit without which books and institutions become useless and dangerous machinery.

I do not pretend to the impartiality of research scholarship in this biography. It is a daughter's effort to reassemble for you the fragmentary records and memories of a great personality whom you have loved. And yet I may not unjustly claim a certain detachment of attitude. I was a child at the time of President Gregory's death; my memories of him are a child's memories, disconnected, superficial. Out of the material before me there has gradually taken shape in my mind the outline of a life of definite and vivid meaning, to the interpretation of which my own fragmentary memories make

(vii)

but little contribution. Filial piety led me to undertake the work, at the request of President James. I intended to write for no wider audience than those who have already a personal interest in the life this book records. But in the scattered records which were my sources I perceived a significance far beyond my original conception. The great pioneer work of John Milton Gregory in Michigan and Illinois embodied and illustrated educational principles so sound and fundamental that where they are violated there can be no education worthy of the name. These principles are being forgotten in the complicated institutional machinery of today. There is grave need that we should be reminded of them.

Our American universities show two distinct periods in their history. The first is a time of struggle and aspiration, a time of rare fertility. During the lifetime of their founders, universities are usually small in numbers but a tremendous moral force in the communities and state. This is not because of any conscious propaganda for citizenship; chairs of social ethics belong to a later and more sterile period. These institutions were great because of the presence in them of men inspired by a clear vision of the bearing of education upon the entire social organism. All their acts, official and private, and all their teaching of the ordinary university curriculum were shaped and made dynamic by that vision. These

men by their presence created an environment in which youth developed naturally towards intelligent and upright citizenship, an environment in which men of ripe scholarship could pursue the search for truth unhampered by lower considerations.

Universities not having at their inception such vision carried out in such lives seldom attain to importance. Those which have been thus vitalized reach unfortunately a second stage.

In this stage the great impulses of growth bring the institution to power, prestige and often enormous size. Such outward success first chokes out and second conceals the lack of the educational vision which first gave the institution its vitality.

The change is seldom noted because rarely included within the academic lifetime of one individual. The old alumni, remembering their own days of struggle and glorious meaning, look from the outside on the splendid buildings and admirable attainments of their prosperous university and assume that the ancient spirit still lives in more commodious halls and functions with larger material means at its disposal. They feel with satisfaction that an ancient phrase is fulfilled and that their alma mater having sought first of all a kingdom of righteousness, all the rest has been added unto her. The younger alumni, never having known what it was to be a part

of a great force for human development clothed in the outward form of an educational institution, are content to find themselves under the tutelage of a university which promises them in their after life the prestige of a name known perhaps throughout the world, and a training in some profession which together with this prestige will place them securely among the upper and not the under dogs in a civilization where every man fights for himself. The need which is in the heart of youth to merge its own interests in group loyalties and social enthusiasms finds its expression in intercollegiate games, or, at a more mature level, in pride in the university's reputation for scholarship and technical supremacy. Those alumni who know only the second stage of the university, having satisfied with husks their hunger for citizenship in the invisible righteous republic of our fathers, cannot of course realize that the bread which their alma mater gave in her earlier, more fruitful days has been withheld from them.

There is some protest of course. But its tone is plaintive where it should be stern, and it deals with symptoms rather than with causes. Among those who linger from one generation to another one often finds a wistful sense of something wrong. Old professors, retired or withdrawn into research work, speak sadly of the deterioration in the present student body, of the lack of ma-

turity and serious purpose in the young men and women of today as compared with their first students. To all of which the young people, guided by a very sound instinct that the responsibility for such a change does not lie in themselves, respond with indifferent shrugs. Old men will still be talking. Who will believe that the undergraduates of today are of a different clay from their fathers at twenty?

They were not of a different clay, those early alumni. They were, as their sons are, youth, plastic, eager, responsive, bringing to the university their lives at the most formative period. For the bent that is given to those lives let the universities answer to the State.

Our present administrators do indeed at times evince an uneasy sense of some such answerability. Lacking the spirit which makes alive, they concern themselves increasingly with the letter, multiplying devices for supervising and disseminating ethical opinion. In student organizations and assemblies, undergraduate are much talked to, sometimes by selected members of the faculty, more often by men who have gained material success and are thereby deemed fitting persons to admonish youth upon the direction of its future course in the world which it is about to occupy. Like Omar Khayyam, our undergraduates "do eagerly frequent doctor and sage and hear great argument." Fortunately the proverbial ineffec-

tiveness of mere words unbacked by lives makes this flood of eloquence from uninspired men futile rather than deleterious. Indeed the chief harm outside the waste of time is that our young people are confirmed in the habit of inattention when ideals are discussed.

It is significant that in those earlier days of our institutions everyone was too busy practicing righteousness to talk so very much about ethics, social or otherwise. The early leaders did indeed find time to gather their students about them and speak as a father might speak to his children. "My sons" said that prince of American educators, Eliphalet Knott, gathering about him at the celebration of his fiftieth year as president of Union a body of alumni distinguished out of all proportion to their numbers. But when Union College, numbering perhaps a thousand students, was called the Mother of College Presidents, there was a striking absence in her curriculum of theoretical discussions of business and professional ethics and of harrangues by successful outsiders.

Another indication of a groping sense of inadequacy on the part of our present overgrown institutions is a more or less open attempt to refer those who believe in the importance of moral education to churches and other religious institutions. The Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations and student pastors are wel-

comed and assisted. But the universities themselves differentiate sharply their concern for the intellectual and practical efficiency of their students from their responsibility for the moral and spiritual education of future citizens. The latter responsibility they repudiate under the pretext of noninterference with religious opinion.

But the moral and spiritual education which a righteous republic needs for the building of its future citizens is not a matter of opinions and creeds. Men of simple faith and upright character whose lives are dominated by a great social vision teach by their presence and example in the ordinary business of life a conception of citizenship which can be taught in no other way. Such men do sometimes when occasion offers speak to youth simply and unofficially of high matters. Such words are words of power. The educators of the older days felt and showed themselves competent to deal as whole men with the whole development of youth. There was no selfconscious attempt on their part to give out training to our future citizens on the present department store plan: buy your culture in our College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and your business success in our College of Commerce, and the answer to your aspirations for faith and righteousness in a shop across the street not under our management.

Finally, confronted with the problem created

by gathering together thousands of boys and girls who are as sheep having no shepherd, our professional administrators have created a new office. The Dean of Men (or of Women) has appeared in the educational world; a characteristic evidence of the modern belief that it is possible to do wholesale by administrative machinery what our fathers did by the touch of a human hand.

The Deanship of Men is in its essence an attempt to delegate and to institutionalize the personal influence of teacher upon student which was the governing as well the educational power in the earlier American universities. The president of the old days was like the American Scholar of Emerson's classical essay, a whole person exercising now one function now another. He was scholar, teacher, leader, lawgiver, and father. He was often capable of occupying any chair or any office in his university and did so when need arose. In the days when a dollar was much harder to come by than it is now he wrested funds from a public even more indifferent to education than our own. With few precedents to guide him he evolved from the educational chaos of our young country a type of university distinctly American and yet able to stand comparison with the scholarly institutions of the old world. These manifold functions left him little time for conscious moral supervision of his students. But moral education is not a matter of time. His students were not

his congregation nor his wards, but his sons, learning as sons learn through cooperation in their father's purposes. The sons of such fatherhood have little need of surveillance.

The professors were like their president, whole men giving out inspiration and guidance as they moved among their students in the ordinary business of life. Where such men are gathered together and function freely in creating the moral atmosphere of the student body, the details of ordering the community life will be attended to spontaneously by the students themselves either as individuals or through some type of self government organization. It is a dangerous fallacy to suppose that mere increase in numbers renders impossible this relationship between faculty and student, this influence based on mutual respect. The lives of whole men work live leaven, and there is no numerical limit to their sphere of influence.

As our universities have grown in size they have departed from the type of organization which gave them their original vitality and their distinctively American character. It has come to be an unwritten law that there shall be no unofficial friendly intercourse between faculty and students. Meanwhile there has grown up a dangerous faith in administrative machinery, and an attempt to increase the efficiency of a few leaders by a complex delegation of function. The faculty are now expected to concern themselves solely

with questions of scholarship. The president, often selected primarily for his business training, attends to finances, secures appropriations, and furnishes his professors with the most modern laboratory and library facilities. What may be called the parental function of the university, its recognition that the student body are not fully adult, and that the responsibility of educators does not end at the door of the classroom, is delegated to the Dean of Men.

This official is usually a man of winning personality and real good will toward young people. His failure to replace the old natural contact between students, president and faculty, is inherent in the situation. The Dean of Men seeks rightly to be something more than a police officer. He seeks to govern, as the educators of old governed, by human contacts; but the fact that he makes these contacts for a purpose robs them of their value and makes them often a menace to immature but real codes of honor. Almost every dean's office is suspected by the students of employing a spy system for obtaining intimate knowledge of what goes on in the student community. This suspicion, sometimes unfounded, is significant of the students' attitude toward their suave and friendly deans.

All this differentiation of function and elaborate administrative machinery has choked out in both faculty and students the spirit which

made education vital in the earlier simpler type of university. The old saying that Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a student at the other constituted a university is the most fruitful definition that has ever been given. Men dominated by a clear vision of the meaning of citizenship and with an abounding faith in youth are a dynamic force for education, drawing the young lives about them into cooperation with their own high purposes. Where such men function freely, elaborate administrative machinery for controlling student communities is conspicuously absent. In its place simple and direct dealing between faculty and student grows up spontaneously. Educational problems drop out of sight. There is no need for surveillance of students or officials because in that constructive and healthful spiritual atmosphere evil tendencies can take no root. Erroneous opinions or undesirable conduct may indeed arise but only as insignificant episodes needing little attention. Men who can bring about such conditions are not lacking today any more than fifty years ago. Where an institution loses sight of its true purposes in a complication of administrative machinery and where there is a vitiating atmosphere of mistrust between faculty, students, and administration, it is because such men have not been called to its leadership or have not been permitted to function freely.

There is abroad in the land a growing distrust of universities and university training. Plain men on farms and in cities feel somehow that those whom their taxes have paid to educate are ill prepared to give to the state sound leadership in these troublous times. Criticism of the university is current enough in the nonuniversity public. We alumni and faculty of the older and the younger day have replied by defending our alma mater with a false esprit de corps. It would be a truer loyalty to that social vision in which our university was conceived if we who know intimately wherein our university has departed from that vision were the first to cry aloud her apostasy until it is amended.

It was in sincere love and loyalty to the true University of Illinois, that I have felt it necessary to administer to the University of today such rebuke and admonition as lay in my power through the withdrawal of this biography from the University Press on the eve of its publication and giving it to another publisher.

The central tenet of this apostacy has been a growing presumption on the part of the University's Administration that for the carrying out of their policies they may use means which will not pass every trial of honor. The men of the old order held by the simple and inflexible creed that expediency is man's wisdom, doing right is God's. They did right, whomsoever they

might offend. They spoke truth, whatsoever the consequences. Therefore they felt no fear of having all those about them speak truth. Truth was their native element. On truth they founded a university where the spirit of intellectual freedom and courage was in the very air. They tolerated no dictation; and the public and trustees came in time to know the value of that assured and uncompromising leadership. They made no concessions; if their university could not thrive under a regime of unwavering truth and honor, they held, it had better die at once. Their business was to do right, trusting God for results; and they did it, in the very teeth of the expediency mongers of their time. Such are the men who build.

The times have changed. Already important persons have by their significant withdrawal from the University declared that the ways of honor are sometimes set aside. Already, a greater tragedy, the body elected from among the people to direct the University for the State have refused to examine the data of such abuses and have thereby repudiated their function of oversight for the public of the educational influences brought to bear upon the youth of the State. And, a final symptom of how completely that youth has been inducted into the policy of getting on in the world by expedient suppressions of all truth that may prove uncomfortable to one's superiors, the

student paper has let itself be made the organ of the Administration, attempting to discredit men whom they did not understand or who were in disfavor, suppressing statements regarding the abuses of the university and issuing in their place statements by the officers of the Administration.

Any institution may make mistakes in its policies and grow better by public discussion and restatement of its aims. But no University can carry out any policy,—least of all one in the “head-fixing industry”, as the plain people are beginning contemptuously to call education,—by methods which set aside the ancient law of open dealing between man and man. This has happened at the University founded by John Milton Gregory. There is need now for a stern and faithful word from the men of the old order to the new.

Let me in closing offer grateful acknowledgment to all those, too numerous to name, who have assisted me either with material or with criticism. But above all, my remembrance is due to the two admirers and coworkers of John Milton Gregory whose wishes led me to accept the honor and labor of writing this biography: to President Emeritus Edmund Janes James, who of all my father's successors best understood the vision of the early University, and to my mother, Louisa Catherine Allen Gregory, the devoted wife who through forty years collected and preserved the

FOREWORD

xxi

records and Ms. from which this biography was written.

ALLENE GREGORY.

CHAPTER I

IN Rensselaer County, New York, about ten miles east of Albany, lay the little old town of Sand Lake. Summer visitors attracted by its charm of hills and waters, and bringing with them the inevitable trolley, have long since destroyed its village quaintness; the very name is changed now to the more aristocratic Averill Park. But a hundred years ago, when six Gregory brothers came to the township, there were three tiny hamlets nestled irregularly among the lakes and hills of the Hudson valley. Glass Lake, Crooked Lake, Burden Lake, Sand Lake, Lake Tassiwana, keep their ancient loveliness, and out of them to the Hudson flows the Poesten Kill, once a fine trout stream; but for them, too, the aforementioned summer visitors have found more euphonious names. The hard headed village fathers of a century ago cared less for the beauty of dreaming hills and waters than for the fertility of the soil about them. Names then were for identification, not for praise.

The first settlers were Dutch farmers who came to Sand Lake valley straight from their Holland homes. One pictures here another Sleepy Hollow. The patroon system with feudal rents in kind and service was accepted stolidly; although

the land was good only the Van Rensselaers waxed rich. But the Puritan immigrants from New England who came into the Van Rensselaer patroonship on both sides of Albany at the beginning of the nineteenth century were of a more aggressive stock. In thrift, industry, hardihood, and shrewdness they were quite a match for the original settlers. Both were enormously prolific and clannish. But it was in sheer hard-hitting readiness to fight for whatever they chose to consider their rights that the New England Puritans did literally beat the Dutch.

The history of Sand Lake was typical of the whole region. Early in the nineteenth century there came to the valley, among others, six Gregory brothers, sons of a merchant of Norwalk, Connecticut, later an ensign in the Revolutionary War. In a few decades they had so prospered and multiplied that about half the town were Gregorys.

The original six seem to have asserted themselves from the first. In 1812 Stephen Gregory was a member of the legislature and a prosperous merchant, Uriah was the village doctor and the first postmaster, Daniel M. ran the hotel and later a private school, and Ebenezer, the grandfather of John Milton Gregory, a farmer and tanner by trade, was the first Moderator of the town of Sand Lake.

Ebenezer's eldest son Joseph in due time took

over the farm and the tannery. He seems to have been true to type, with all the Puritan virtues and few redeeming graces. He was scrupulously honest, courageous, independent, and in the worst implication of the word, efficient; a thoroughly respectable and unlovable man. Outside the tannery he had but two interests in life. The more important of these was the anti-rent fight for which he gave his time and effort and made himself poor.

The days of the Van Rensselaer landed aristocracy were numbered when the immigration from New England began. Before two decades had elapsed the new tenants revolted against the effort to collect land rents. They asserted that many of them had been induced to improve the land by promises of the Van Rensselaer agents that they should have outright ownership. Moreover in some cases the payments of rent were in the form of beaver or other pelts, easy to make when wild life abounded, but extortionate when the pelts must be purchased. The Van Rensselaer title was attacked in the courts on the ground that the Revolution had annulled Dutch and English grants and that there had been no regrant in this case. The courts held against the tenants. Sheriffs were sent to dispossess them. But the Puritan stock was not one to be intimidated by authority. Young men dressed as Indians gave the sheriff's a warm reception.

Joseph Gregory was a leader in the anti-rent fight. As president of the Society for Correcting the Abuse of Tenants of Rensselaerwyck he was much sought by the sheriffs. He was wont to disappear from his home for days at a time when warned that a deputy was trying to find him. This guerilla warfare must have lent a flavor of adventure to the quiet childhood of his little son, John Milton, who grew to manhood before a compromise brought the anti-rent conflict to an end. In 1847 all this active partizanship bore fruit in the election of Joseph Gregory to the State Assembly on the anti-rent issue.

In the life of this typical old Puritan there was one other interest besides making his own business prosper and fighting against tyranny: the church. In the memory of the few old inhabitants of Sand Lake who knew him he is still "Deacon Josie."

Between Sand Lake and the neighboring town of the Corners, not far from the site of the Gregory farm, still stands the Baptist Church erected in 1803. It is a forbidding structure enough, reminiscent of New England with its unrelieved plainness of white frame, small paned windows and square bell tower. Its white austerity almost achieves an inadvertent classicism, an illusive suggestion of Greek temples. But there was nothing Hellenistic in the theology that built it. Aggressive in their piety as in their

politics, the Puritans brought to this placid valley their own stern creed. Joseph Gregory was, characteristically, a pillar of this uncompromising Baptist Church. Here with relentless regularity he worshipped a God made in his own image. And here on the church records one finds the following entries: Rachel Bullock Gregory, died, 1826. Joseph, Gregory, died October 17, 1870, aged 84. Under the date April 5, 1835, is entered "John Milton Gregory related his experience with a view to uniting with this church if his experience should be fellowshiped." Also, "voted that he be received after baptism."

In the adjoining village of West Sand Lake lived another New England farmer, Lewis Bullock. He had fought in the Revolution. His wife Rebecca seems to have been a fitting help-mate for a soldier. As a girl of sixteen she had gone through the horrors of the Wyoming Indian Massacre. She was gathering berries with her two little brothers in the woods near her home when the alarm was sounded to call the settlers into the fort. The boys started to run in, but were caught and tomahawked before they reached shelter. The little girl hid until she saw that the resistance of the villagers was unsuccessful, then made her way through the forests three days' journey to Dutchess County, New York, where she found a home with relatives and eventually married farmer Bullock.

Her daughter Rachel seems to have inherited the mother's resolute character, to which she added rare qualities of her own. In girlhood she became the wife of Joseph Gregory, then a widower with one little daughter. She bore him nine children, dying in childbirth while still a comparatively young woman. It was not a long life nor an easy one. But somehow among all the tasks and hardships of the Puritan wife and mother she seems to have found time to concern herself with the minds and hearts of her children, so that the memory of her became a force in their lives. She was a lover of great literature. It was she who gave to her third son, born July 6, 1822, the name of her favorite poet, John Milton. The rigid and unlovely piety of her husband seems in her ardent mind to have kindled to a profound and beautiful spirituality, giving her serenity and a power beyond the ordinary power of mind and will. Her daughter Lois tells that in the mother's last illness her four little sons were brought to her for her blessing. Afterwards, when the end was approaching rapidly, Lois asked if she wished to see the little boys again. The mother said quietly "No. I have given them to the Lord." Indeed she seems to have impressed upon their childish minds a feeling of special and solemn dedication to service which their lives actually fulfilled. Two of them became useful and beloved ministers. The other two after preach-

ing for a time, made education their life work and eventually became university presidents.

John Milton Gregory was four years old when his mother died, but he remembered her distinctly and mourned for her with all the intensity of a lonely and oversensitive child. Lois, on whose sixteen year old shoulders fell the task of mothering her little brothers, said that often, missing him from the house, she would find him at the family burying ground, lying face downward on his mother's grave.

After Rachel Gregory's death it was a rough and bustling world in which her motherless little son found himself. Joseph Gregory would have been dismayed beyond measure at our modern conception of parental responsibility. Even the negative standards of our child labor legislation would have seemed to him degenerate sentimentalism. He appears to have regarded his children, and later his grandchildren, in the light of economic assets; their labor and respectful obedience must repay him for the trouble of bringing them into the world. All his children were put to work in the tannery as early as possible; such schooling as they obtained after early childhood was at their own initiative in such time as could be spared from the day's work.

Obedience to himself, industry in his tannery, and regular attendance at church were Joseph Gregory's only parental requirements. These

fulfilled, he seems to have had little interest in his children. But it must be recorded that his large family without exception grew up serviceable and intelligent men and women, rather beyond the average in education, and seem to have resented their father's demands less than do the nurslings of our more fussy modern parenthood. The grandchildren with whom he dealt in a similar way detested him frankly. But his own children spoke of him always with a profound respect and even with a reminiscent kindliness bordering on affection.

A housewife was a necessity to our forefathers. Accordingly, it was not long until Joseph Gregory married his third wife, a widow, Mrs. Almira Foster. She too seems to have been a woman of remarkable capability. And, in all conscience, she had need to be! One learns with awe that she was called mother by no less than twenty-two children—eleven Foster children and ten Gregory children, to whom she soon added another!

The Gregory farm house was capacious, but it must have been filled to overflowing with a family of such truly patriarchal proportions. However, the children seem to have thriven. And, indeed, aside from the not unwholesome hardships of the times and the ever present necessity for hard work which made schooling precarious, their environment was favorable. The loveliest hills and lakes in all the state were at their very doors for

a playground. The Gregory farm was on a little hill about half a mile from the village. Below it stood the tannery, and just beyond another hillock was Sand Lake where the Gregory boys went swimming and fishing. What more could a boy desire on summer days when work was over? If the home itself gave little encouragement for schooling, there was nevertheless books in plenty. The town library was kept at Joseph Gregory's house; in the long winter evenings a little lad might find a quiet corner by the great brick hearth with a tallow dip beside him, and read and dream to his heart's content.

John Milton Gregory had all his life long an insatiable appetite for books. He was never an omnivorous reader, however, nor a superficial one. What he read he chose thoughtfully and made it permanently his own. He seems early to have developed a practice which had a formative influence upon his whole mental development, the practice of learning always through teaching. It seems to have been a lifelong conviction with him that the best way to get ideas or information clearly and permanently in one's own mind is to impart them to someone else. As a little boy he was in the habit of spending the noon hour at his father's tannery in telling the workmen the contents of whatever book he had been reading. History, travel, biography, and occasionally poetry, these were to him the gates of a larger

world in which his mind found refuge, gates which he tried unceasingly to open to all those about him. One finds pleasant reminiscences of a boy of twelve, flushed and eager, forgetting to eat his own lunch while he lived again some splendid chapter of Gibbon for a group of workmen who listened, half amused and wholly interested. For never in his life did John Milton Gregory fail to hold his audience and make them remember what he said.

The frail, sensitive child with his vivid enthusiasms, his singularly lovable personality, and his hunger for an education seems to have been the favorite with all his sturdier brothers and sisters. They were proud of his intelligence, and often interceded with their father to gain for him the consideration that his delicate health required. The story of his fragmentary and interrupted schooling is perhaps best told in the words of one of them. Here is an account written by his eldest brother, Lewis, to whom John Milton often expressed his lifelong gratitude and affection for his wide guidance and for financial aid during his college years.

“John Milton was never a strong child—always small and slender. Till he was six or seven years old he constantly sucked his thumb. I remember him sitting in the old square pew in the church at Sand Lake, his thumb in his mouth, intently listening to the sermon. He learned to

read when very young, probably when he was four or five, at any rate before he was six, and it was his habit from this time on to sit reading a book instead of joining in our play. He had access to the library of the town of Sand Lake and to the library of our uncle Daniel Gregory, with whom he was a great favorite. Daniel Gregory was a great invalid and spent the greater portion of his time in reading.

"When John was ten years old he went to the common school then taught by E. Towner, a student of William and Mary College, Massachusetts. Here John commenced the study of Latin and in one term of four months became able to read the language fairly well. Mr. Towner put John on the track of preparing for college.

"Our father wanted John Milton to learn to be a mechanic and to this end set him to grinding bark in his tannery. While at this work, at the age of ten years, he broke his arm. Then I told our father that the only way John would ever be able to make a living was to give him an education and fit him to teach. After talking to my father several times I finally prevailed upon him to do this. John then attended a select school taught by a Baptist minister named Elmer, in Sand Lake."

Joseph Gregory must have repented of his decision, however, for at the age of thirteen John was taken out of school entirely and put to work

in the tannery again. Two years of hard labor made it more than ever apparent that he could not for long endure such a life. Lewis again interceded, pleading that the delicate child was not really of much value in the tannery, and at the age of fifteen John went to the little town of Gilboa, N. Y., where Lewis was already in charge of a private school, to teach Latin. When Lewis left the following year John was given the entire school. He remained in Gilboa for two winters, working in the tannery during the summer. But it was increasingly evident that even this was too much for the boy. In 1839 Lewis writes to his sister Dorcas, "John Milton is quite unwell this summer. Pa talks of sending him to school, for he can't work."

His illness perhaps gained him the privilege of a visit to his married sister in Poughkeepsie, for in the same summer he wrote his father the following letter:

New York, 12th June 1839.

Dear Father:

You will probably be surprised when you hear that I am in New York. I came down last night with Uncle Uriah. Pa, there is a chance for me to go into a store in Poughkeepsie now if you are willing. It is a dry goods store in Main Street. I think it would agree with my present state of health better than tanning, but you are the best judge of that. If you conclude to let me

stay you can send what clothes I need, if not you can write. I have been to Dover. The folks are all well. Lois has a little girl and is very sick. I had a hard fit of the colic this morning. My side has been rather lamer since I have been here than it was at home. Uncle Silas has been gone so that I have not seen him. If you adjourn the suit I suppose this subpoena is good for nothing.

I have been this forenoon with Uncle Uriah to see a little of New York city. We went through the celebrated Wall Street which I found considerably different from what I had anticipated. It is a good deal narrower than I had expected, though this narrowness of appearance is owing, I think, to the height of the buildings. The exchange which they are building is considerably larger than the one in Albany. The streets all appear to me to be very narrow. We also went over to the east side and saw the ships. I paced the length of one of them which was sixty-two paces or 180 feet. It sat up above the water as near as I could judge 20 feet. I saw the Astor house which I think is a noble building; the park looks very fine also. Uncle says the Great Western is in port but I have not seen it. We went to the place where the horses are sold at auction and saw some worth \$300 and \$600. I have written this not because I can inform you anything about New York more than you know already but to

let you know what ideas its appearance impressed me with. Direct your answer to the care of Uncle Uriah.

Your affectionate son,

J. M. GREGORY.

Permission to spend a year in Po'Keepsie was granted, but thanks to the advice and assistance of Lewis and his sister Emmeline, John entered not a dry goods store but the Po'keepsie Academy with the intention of preparing himself to enter college. Here he remained for three years, making his home with his sister Mrs. Emmeline Slee, attending the academy when he could afford it, and when he could not, replenishing his purse by teaching a school in the town of La Grange. Although the boy asked for no financial assistance from his father, Joseph Gregory seems from time to time to have been inclined to reassert his legal right to the labor of his son. The following letter from Lewis is probably typical of many intersessions:

Gilboa, March 7, 1841.

Dear Father:

According to promise you will by this time expect a letter from me.—Lois has got a little boy which Dorcas says she has named for J. M. Mary Jane [Gregory]'s school will be out on Tuesday and they have written to her to come and take a school at Poughkeepsie this Summer which I think she will do. Respecting John I

would just say that his health is about as usual and I think he would be of little more service to you at home. He has the offer of the school in the village at a fair price for the summer season and I think for one that he had better take it. Also a Doctor in this place, a very fine man and a skillful physician, wants John to study with him and will probably next winter give him a very good chance as he wants somebody to stay in his office. John according to his present appearance will not be able to earn a living by labor and I think that if he clothes himself and gets his profession without your assistance he does extremely well. Teaching school seems to agree with him very well. The Doctor thinks he can make his time and teach too and I think so for he is constantly reading while out of school.—I remain yours,

L. GREGORY.

The Po'keepsie Academy was apparently one of the numerous irregular private schools of the last generation where sometimes a man of vigorous personality and erratic scholarship would violate every known rule of pedagogy and nevertheless put the love of learning into the boys who came to him from farm and workshop. The schoolmaster in this case was a Scot named McGeorge, a man of sardonic humor, uncertain temper, and genuine enthusiasm for the classics. The first mentioned quality he illustrated in the epitaph he bestowed upon his wife: "She tried to

be a good wife, and she was a good housekeeper." With him young Gregory completed his much interrupted preparation. In the fall of 1842, thanks to the generous assistance of his older brothers and sisters, he entered the Freshman Class of Union College.

Later in life John Milton Gregory frequently expressed his belief that it is better not to enter college too young. Certainly entering at the age of twenty he brought to his collegiate studies a maturity and discipline of mind and character, a breadth of reading and a justness of opinion far beyond that of the ordinary Freshman. There is extant the manuscript of an address delivered by him at the age of seventeen while teaching at Gilboa which is significant. Young Gregory, speaking on the somewhat hackneyed subject of self culture, objects vigorously to the point of view that regards it as a means to success in life, insisting characteristically that it *is* success in life. He inserts an interesting definition of education. "By *the educated* I mean not those whose minds have been filled by an unwieldly and undigested knowledge of books; but those who, whether they have studied one book or one hundred, have been trained to think for themselves, and who exercise *all* the faculties of their minds."

Such was the spirit of intellectual seriousness, thoroughness, and aspiration with which John Milton Gregory entered Union College with the

class of 1846. Nor, one feels, could he have chosen an Alma Mater more great in the things of the spirit. Our modern universities with their megalomania and their truly American belief in advertising may well meditate upon the record of this small and comparatively obscure institution. Founded in 1795, it was the first college west of the Hudson River, and the first denominational college in the country. From the beginning Union College showed herself progressive and independent. If a history of American education is ever written it will be recorded that in many important matters of educational policy Union stood first with the entire academic world to follow her. But her truest claim to greatness—the only claim that any college can hope to have recognized in the high courts of humane culture—is her men. Union bears the proud title “the Mother of College Presidents.” From her went out a power and a passionate belief in education that gave form to many younger institutions all over the United States.* Old

*The first President of the University of Michigan, the first President of the University of Illinois, the first President of Trinity College, the first Chancellor of New York University, the first President of Union Theological Seminary, the first Presidents of Elmira, Smith, Vassar, and Knox Colleges and of Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute were Union College Alumni. Besides this, Union has given two Chancellors to the University of Iowa and one to Iowa Agricultural College, Presidents to Princeton, Brown, Bowdoin, University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers, Lafayette, Jefferson, Franklin and Marshall, Hobart, Kentucky, William and Mary, Univ. of Vermont, Racine, New York State Normal College, and to Union College four of its ten presidents; and this list is only partial. The list of her alumni who have rendered distinguished service of leadership in other professions is beyond count.

Union's daughter institutions have outgrown her in size, never in greatness. Their alumni, clamorously boastful of such matters as enrollment, athletic supremacy, equipment and wealth, research and scientific discovery, may well fall silent before her ancient supremacy in the divine faculty of creating men.

The entrance requirements that confronted young Gregory at Union seem to us curiously elementary.* The older educational method insisted upon accuracy and thoroughness in a few subjects, and assumed wider voluntary reading on the part of the student. Now we assume that no student can possibly be expected to have an acquaintance with any subject not studied in some course. Accordingly we crowd high school and later university curricula with samples of the entire range of human knowledge. A century ago when the prevailing educational ideal was really the broadest ever conceived—the humane culture of an entire personality—the subjects actually taught were limited to a few fundamentals. Union College saw to it that her Freshmen were thor-

*The catalog of 1843 reads as follows: "Candidates for the Freshman class will be examined in the grammar of the English, Latin and Greek languages in Vergil, Sallust, Cicero's Select Orations, the four Gospels, Jacob's Greek Reader (or an equivalent,) in Arithmetic and Geography." But there follows another passage: "It is very important that candidates should be thoroughly prepared, *especially in grammatical and elementary knowledge*. Where they have more time than is requisite for such preparation it is desirable for obvious reasons, that they should not anticipate studies in the college course, but apply themselves to other studies."

oughly grounded in the grammar of their own and the classical languages. She never found it necessary to enforce general reading with a bribe of entrance credits. History and literature she took for granted; and she is justified of her children. Now our high schools are apparently chiefly occupied in devitalizing the English classics by forcing them upon unready minds. Meanwhile universities find Freshmen grossly ignorant of their mother tongue. To-day the only place in our academic machinery where grammar is taken seriously is the graduate school. There, masquerading as philology, it comes to its own again. We have turned the educational program of our fathers directly upside down. But it is somewhat difficult to offer humane culture to illiterates. There is much to be said for the wisdom of Union's simple and rigid entrance requirements. By our standards, the course seems narrow; but an educational system should be judged by its results. The ideal of education which Union gave her students was not an ideal that limited itself to the class room or to the undergraduate years. Distinguished scholars who came in contact with John Milton Gregory throughout his life were struck by the breadth as well as the accuracy of his knowledge. When twenty years after his graduation from Union College he undertook the task of organizing a great university he showed himself competent to plan the work of every department with such grasp and perspec-

tive that the institution for fifty years has grown upon rather than changed his work. If the old ideals of scholarship are contrasted with our modern intensive specialization it is apparent which lacks breadth. Now it is not Lord Bacon but only the undergraduate who takes all knowledge to be his province.

Union College in 1842 must have looked much as it does today. The dormitory, old North College, where young Gregory roomed, still stands, its windows looking out on the Mohawk River. He who so loved all gracious garden quietness must often have lingered in Jackson's Garden with the college pastures beyond, and sat on the Old Stone Seat, the terrace wall, a half mile long, on which a hundred classes have sat and sung in the spring evenings. With him sat a distinguished company. The class of 1846 counted among its ninety members John Hoffman, twice Governor of New York; Henry R. Pearson, Chancellor of the State of New York; Peter C. Veeder, Dean of the Imperial University of Japan, decorated by the Emperor with the Order of the Rising Sun; Rufus J. Baldwin, President of the Minnesota Academy of Science and Member of the Senate; William J. King, Founder and President of the Chicago Law Institute; Daniel R. L. Bigelow, Commissioner to codify the laws for Washington Territory, and many other men of note.* Among Gregory's

*President Richmond's address, 1915.

other college friends were Sheldon Jackson, head of the Alaska Missions who introduced reindeer into Alaska, and Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States.

John Milton Gregory's college life would seem intolerable to the modern undergraduate. He read incessantly. His one diversion seems to have been his flute, the companion of his loneliness. His youngest daughter remembers finding him occasionally in the last years of his life playing that same flute, alone in the twilight; playing the old, old tunes that one never hears now, Puritan hymns, and wistful folk melodies his forefathers had brought with them from England.

He who all his life long had in a singular degree the gift of friendship seems as an undergraduate to have been singularly alone. One of his classmates writes of him, "It is a long way back to the forties, but I can say that Gregory was always a perfect gentleman and well liked by the members of his class. He was a hard worker, devoting himself consistently and persistently to his college work." That is the impression he seems to have made in college; a hard worker, likeable but with little leisure for acquaintance.

He must have been absent from college for considerable periods, earning his expenses; for we hear of his teaching school in Gilboa and in Deposit. Uriah Gregory, his uncle, writes to Dr. Uriah M. Gregory, his great uncle, in December

1844, "Two of Brother Joseph's boys are here, John Milton and Uriah. John Milton has a Select School of 45 Scholars and is much pleased. So are the scholars."

Young Gregory must have taken some part in college activities. He was a member of at least two student organizations, the Philomathian Literary Society,* and the Equitable Union, a non-secret society which became later the Delta Upsilon Fraternity. Young Gregory's joining the Equitable Union was an act of protest against the fraternities, which were so numerous at his Alma Mater that Union has been called the mother of Greek Letter Societies. The evils which justified that protest have been in large measure overcome. Secrecy in pledge and ritual, once a cover for questionable purposes, is harmless now, thanks in large measure to that early movement of protest. The nature of the educational problems presented by fraternity organizations has so changed that this undergraduate attitude of John Milton Gregory's can have but limited significance for the present situation, except as it in-

*The Philomathean Literary Society of Union College was founded in 1795, a few months after the founding of the college. John Milton Gregory's estimate of its value may be inferred from his subsequent action at the University of Illinois. In the first year of the University the president established two literary societies, the Adelpic and the Philomathean. If the Philomathean at Illinois chooses to regard itself as a descendant of the society at Union, it may claim a long list of distinguished members and a history going back 123 years.

icates his lifelong protest against the tyranny of the small group.

Certainly as an undergraduate Gregory took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Equitable. He was their Senior orator. There is extant a Greek poem in heroic couplets, "Spoken before the Equitable Union Society of Union College, 1846 by J. M. Gregory, on the society motto ὅνδ' ἐν Ἀδελφῶν (Nothing Secret).

In 1846 John Milton Gregory graduated from Union College with academic standing near the head of his class, and was elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Four years of unremitting industry and the severe intellectual discipline of the old classical education undoubtedly did much to form his mind. He came out of college with ingrained habits of hard work and accurate scholarship, trained faculties of literary appreciation, and superb powers of concentration. But these were small in comparison with the great dominant influence which Union College brought to bear upon his life.

If John Milton Gregory believed all his life long that the truest education is contact with a great teacher; if he saw in universities and school systems chiefly machinery for facilitating such contact; if he placed personality above curriculum, perceiving that any subject may educate if it is taught with a vision, and none can without it,

it was because he himself had sat at the feet of a great teacher and knew what debt he owed. If Union College, "Mother of College Presidents," was great in spirit beyond other institutions, it was the work of one man who placed the stamp of his power and vision on all the young lives about him. For fifty years President Eliphalet Nott ruled Union College by divine right. Without an account of him the life of his pupil could not be written. Something of his quality is reflected in the tribute written by President Gregory himself at the time of President Nott's death in 1866.*

"The eminently earnest and practical character of the graduates of Union College has often been confessed, and the solid and substantial character of their education is sufficiently attested by the eminent positions of public trust and responsibility which so many of them have been called to fill. A regiment of the most eminent names in the land, statesman, orators, college presidents and professors, authors, editors, and judges, could be marshalled to do honor to the memory of their great preceptor, whose death they now mourn as the death of a father.

"But rich and rare as were President Nott's gift as an instructor, his chief power, as an educator, lay not in these. It was his ability as a disciplinarian that the college owed much of its

*Article by J. M. G. in *The Michigan Teacher*, May, 1866.

proud and peculiar fame. He was not simply a splendid policeman, watching with Argus-eyed vigilance for the slips of boyish sinners, and ready to visit, with relentless severity, every failure in duty. His discipline saved, reformed and inspired men. We are treated like gentlemen, not like mere boys, was a common saying among his pupils; and they became gentlemen. He trusted them, and they repaid his trust with fidelity and honor. While other colleges were governed like penitentiaries, Union College was governed like a society of free men. Hundreds of young men, expelled with ignominy from other institutions, were brought by their sorrowing parents to Dr. Nott as the last resort, and under the magic influence of his discipline these young men were restored to manhood and to hope."

In the authentic priesthood of education there is an apostolic succession true beyond all form. Eliphalet Nott laid consecrating hands on John Milton Gregory, and the young man received gifts of the spirit which he later conferred upon many others, becoming in his turn a teacher of teachers. Is not the succession plain beyond question? This very tribute to President Nott considered in the light of the writer's own policies and methods when he himself was later called to preside over a university becomes doubly significant. Much that is said of President Nott applies with singular aptness to President Gregory.

The rare combination of business sagacity, sound scholarship, and burning idealism; the fatherly love for his students, (how many of you, Alumni of Illinois, have written of its first president "He was like a father to me—I loved him like a son"?) the discipline that treated boys as honorable gentlemen worthy of all confidence; and above all the deep conviction that the aim of education is a life of service; these were the distinguished marks of both men. And the fine tribute to the aged teacher of Union applies no less to his worthy pupil: "Perhaps no teacher ever excelled him in this most valuable trait of a true educator, the power to kindle in the souls of the young high purposes and noble resolves."

CHAPTER II

THE later years of college are for worthy youth of both sexes a time of grave forethought and sometimes of agonized uncertainty. They must choose their work; upon that choice depends, they feel, their success or failure, serviceableness or unserviceableness. Young Gregory seems to have faced the problem early, and with little guidance. There was the family tradition of his mother's desire that he should enter the ministry; for that he had small inclination. There was his father's intention to make a mechanic of him; that, his frail health forbade. Teaching, which had been his means of livelihood through college, he seems not to have considered as a life work. A letter to his father written in his Sophomore year throws some light on his approach to the problem. Amid the quaint phrases of filial respect and formal Puritan piety, between passages that suggest a very normal and affectionate boy rather homesick for his brothers and sisters, occurs the following significant statement of his purpose and ideas:

"In regard to my future course my views are changing somewhat. I still think that I will teach some after concluding my collegiate course, if a good opportunity offers; but I have almost

determined that I will choose some profession,—what one I cannot, as yet, certainly tell. I shall probably decide ere I again return home after the next summer term. In the meanwhile I pray that God may direct me to choose that sphere of life in which I can do most good. Nightly I pray for this direction, and may I not, dear Father and Mother too, ask your prayers and advice in this matter? If I know my own heart, I desire to be led in this choice, not by worldly considerations of honor or wealth, but by motives of usefulness and good to my race. Although I sometimes think of the ministry, it has not as yet presented itself to me as the path in which I may do most good, and the unsettled state of my doctrinal views has hitherto prevented my turning my thoughts that way. I should like very much to know your thoughts of this.”

In a few months more he had made his choice of a profession. During his Senior year at Union he began reading law with a firm in Schenectady. The decision seems to have been a fortunate one. In diary and letters he records his keen delight in the work, and his pleasure in looking forward to a legal career, in the social usefulness of which he believed cordially.

At his graduation he went to live with his brother Lewis at Gilboa, earning his way by teaching and continuing his law study with ever increasing enthusiasm. This was altogether a

happy year. Improved health, contentment and progress in his chosen profession, and congenial surroundings seem to have given full scope to his naturally affectionate and sunny disposition. Lewis Gregory's daughter records her childish impressions of the young uncle who came into the little household at Gilboa: she remembers him as "a cheerful, pleasant-featured, well dressed young man, whose entrance seemed to bring into the room an atmosphere of peaceful brightness and good fellowship. He was interested in all the family, and in everything about the plain little country home." There are other reminiscences of his bringing gifts of books to his little nieces and nephews, reading with them, and taking hunting trips with his brother.

Just what deflected John Milton Gregory from the profession he was entering so auspiciously is not clear. He seems always to have looked back to his interrupted legal studies with regret. It was apparently not inclination but an almost morbid sense of duty, resulting from the tyrannous Puritan discipline of conscience, that motivated the next change in his life.

In the first half of the century education was by no means common in rural New York. A college graduate was looked up to with something akin to awe. He might be called upon for any form of leadership, spiritual or temporal. Accordingly John Milton Gregory, at home for a

visit, was sometimes asked to preach in the little church at Sand Lake. There was nothing unusual in that. Baptists were accustomed to lay preaching; and the Gregory children had all received a ruthlessly pious upbringing. But the consequences proved serious. In the nearby village of Hoosick Falls some fifteen or twenty persons desired to organize a Baptist Church. Some of them had apparently attended the Sand Lake church; for in 1847 an invitation was sent to John Milton Gregory to become the pastor of the little group at Hoosick Falls.

It would be interesting to have a record of the mental processes by which young Gregory arrived at his decision to accept this call. Perhaps he responded to some memory of the dead young mother who had "given him to the Lord," desiring that he should become a minister. Perhaps his own essentially religious temperament was unduly affected by the popular idea that the ministry was the most direct expression of the dedicated life. Be that as it may, in his diary under the date July 17, 1847, we find a record of prolonged secret prayer, and the entry "Have agreed to go and reside at Hoosick Falls and preach to the people there."

The diary which begins at this point in his life was largely an outgrowth of the intense spiritual self-consciousness induced by his attempts to meet the demands of his new vocation. The diary

continues from his twenty-fifth year to his fiftieth; but after he leaves the ministry its character changes altogether. It begins with an entry several times a week, sometimes three or four pages in length, recording intimately his inner life with the barest mention of outer events. After a year of this the entries become more brief. Two years more, and the diary contains only an annual record, July sixth of each year, "natale die." The birthday records sum up briefly the events of the year, with some comment on their importance. There is still some attempt to record the inner life, but the increasing objectivity of a life that is finding full expression in its work is in striking contrast to the painful introspection of the earlier entries.

Considered alone, the first years of the diary form a human document of intense interest. They are the utterly frank revelation of a type of religious development seldom met with outside the pages of Bunyan. They bear the stigmata of a sick soul. Taken in connection with the personality of John Milton Gregory shown in his life as a whole—its essential sanity, objectivity, and intellectual balance—they are almost incredible. Yet so considered their interest is redoubled. This was not a genuine 'sick soul' as James used the term, but an unusually healthy mind trying to adapt itself to a spiritual discipline better

suiting to the coarse-grained and tough-fibred pioneers among whom it flourished.

Joseph Gregory thrived on Puritanism. It enabled him to feel that the Lord was on his side and would aid him in smiting down all opposition. When, for example, his eldest son James ran away to make his own living, Deacon Josie waited complacently for the Judgment of God to overtake the graceless boy who left his father just at harvest time when all available labor was needed on the farm. The boy actually seems to have been forced to eat humble pie; whereupon he was welcomed home in a parental letter full of pious phrase. All that was well enough for Deacon Josie. But Rachel Gregory's son was of altogether different clay. The emotional demands and the merciless rigidity of standard which the worthy tanner endured very comfortably were disaster for his sensitive boy.

To obtain a proper perspective on the first years recorded in the diary we must consider both the type of religious thought to which the writer was endeavoring to conform and the development he had gone through previous to his almost accidental entry into the ministry.

John Milton Gregory's religious life before the period of the diary seems to have been entirely normal. The glimpses we have of it are few, but they suggest a childlike naturalness of religious attitude. We hear of the child grieving for the

young mother whose memory was to him a dedication to God; of the solemn-eyed little boy in the old square church pew "listening intently to the sermon." So much for docile infancy. Later, an old friend writes, "John Gregory was not different from the other boys. He was not fond of church going. We all had to go in those days, however, and pretend to like it."

Another thing that was expected in the child of pious parents was an emotional conversion. Accordingly, in John Gregory's thirteenth year we find the church record mentioned above: "John Milton Gregory related his experience with a view to uniting with this church if his experience should be fellowshiped." And then, "Voted that he be received after baptism."

In the period of religious introspection that the diary records John Milton Gregory questioned the significance of this early 'experience.' In the wiser years that followed he thought of it as it was, the normal awakening of the adolescent religious consciousness. As an old man he thus described it to his youngest daughter, then a child a little younger than the child self he was recalling. It was the story of a dream, as have been so many of the rare and lovely confessions that are the treasures of religious poetry. The boy John Gregory was sleeping by Sand Lake on a summer afternoon. He dreamed that there were many people about him, so that the banks

were crowded; all sorts of people busied with all sorts of occupations. Suddenly through the confusion of strange faces he saw coming towards him a Young Man, who called him by name, 'John,' with a gesture of invitation. As He spoke the boy recognized Him and rose to follow Him in utter joyous confidence. There the dream ended. Could anything be more simple and adequate? To the boy at the threshold of adolescence comes the vision of the Life that was divine, asking and receiving the consecration of his own awakening manhood.

The religious life so begun grew and developed as the boy's mind developed. At the age of twenty-two he writes in a letter to his parents, "My own feelings in regard to the subject of religion are constantly changing, but generally I hope for the better. My belief is becoming more settled and my convictions and opinions more firmly established.—I begin to feel more earnest desires for the happiness temporal and eternal of my fellow men. It was the absence of these desires with other things that induced me to believe that my earlier conversion was not genuine."

A college education seems to have occasioned little change in his acceptance of the fundamentals of his father's rigid creed. Years later he writes in a published letter to a college boy on the subject of religious doubt: "Do not consider your doubts something new and strange. Your

experience is not uncommon or exceptional. I doubted forty years ago; and forty years hence boys now unborn will be having all your doubts over again. They are the clouds of life's morning time, the natural questionings of the mind as it begins to think for itself upon the great questions concerning creation and life, and concerning God and the soul and its destiny." But it is apparent from the whole article that those deep and stern questionings of the very roots of creed and dogma which so often mark for modern intelligent youth the spiritual coming of age were quite foreign to his experience. His 'doubts' seemed indeed to have been a cloudlike vagueness and unreality. Partly this was due to the nature of his education. The classical training develops a deep sympathy with the mind of the past, and a historical sense. A historian may be a reformer; he is seldom a revolutionist. He is loth to criticize destructively forms that humanity has for centuries found serviceable.

In this case training was reinforced by temperament. There was never anything of the rebel in John Milton Gregory. All his life he tended to accept authority; not unintelligently, always with a discrimination in his choice of authority; but it is nevertheless evident that he was a conservative by nature. The Promethean quality than enables rebellious youth to take its divine fire direct from heaven and burn therewith the

theological old clothes the last generation would force upon it was lacking in him. If it had not been, there would have been no occasion for the first book of the diary.

Yet it is noteworthy that in his acceptance of the rigid and unlovely Baptist theology in which he was reared he exercised an instinctive and probably unconscious selection. Throughout the diary he uses the formal stock terminology of Puritan piety, just as his father did; but the emphasis is changed. Heaven and hell are no longer bribe and threat. His thought of heaven is that one must be purified of all unworthiness to enter God's presence; his thought of hell, that one may not cease from prayer and teaching so long as there are human beings bound for destruction. Indeed the whole of Christianity seems for him to have centered in an intense aspiration to follow in humility and purity of heart the leadership of the Christ. All the rest, the theological machinery with which the church surrounded and often replaced that central meaning, was for him thrown out of focus and lost to sight in his concentration on the essential idea.

Such idealism might have rendered the theological virus harmless but for the accident of John Milton Gregory's entering the ministry. The Puritan emphasis upon a searching of conscience is proverbial. Add to that a temperament inclined to overseriousness, an ingrained rev-

ence for the disciplines of a Puritan church, and an overwhelming sense of pastoral responsibility, and we have all the conditions set for the almost pathological religious struggles recorded in the diary.

The unfortunate element developed in young Gregory's inner life as we see it here was not so much the theological discussions with which his mind now began to concern itself as the belief that perfection was to be attained by cultivating a state of overstrained religious emotion, by ceaseless introspection and a sense of sin, and by cutting out of life every interest and impulse not obviously contributory to the central purpose.

The diary laments perpetually his "coldness of heart"; i. e. the tendency of his mind to resume a normal temperature after a mood of forced religious exaltation. He doubts his own loyalty to the ideal because he cannot always be in a state of excitement about it. Indeed his attempts to whip himself into the impassioned mood not unnaturally produced periods of distinct reaction against it in which he records that he felt "like a very devil of pride and coldness."

His naturally social disposition, his enjoyment of his own gift of winning friends, his willingness to please and be pleased, are here construed as "vanity." "Pride," often coupled with it in his penitential records, seems indistinguishable at times from a proper appreciation of his own

ability and a very human pleasure in hearing praise. These two "sins" caused him many hours of merciless mental self-flagellation. But his hardest conflict seems to have been with personal ambition. Again and again occur the records of close scrutiny of motives and earnest prayer for such complete consecration to service that the desire for personal success may have no part in his life.

To a modern reader the whole diary seems overstrained and the disciplines incredibly unwise. Indeed when we read of the young minister fainting as a result of fasts which his frail physique could not endure, and of baptisms in which the robes froze to his body (one old lady writes that in her childhood, the Reverend John M. Gregory baptized her in the river when the ice was a foot thick) we feel a mediæval brutality in the demands of the Puritan churches a hundred years ago.

But here as in the case of the narrow classical training we must not forget the right of a discipline to be judged in part by its results. In the years of John Milton Gregory's administrative work, as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, as University Regent, and as Civil Service Commissioner, it is apparent that in times of general misunderstanding and opposition he possessed in marked degree the gift of forgetting personal slights and sinking all concern for his

own dignity in consideration of the principles involved. This was a distinctive source of his power. Again and again his opponents were won by it to understand him and to become his warm supporters. Who shall say how much of this rare quality was due to those early struggles to root out "pride" and "vanity," to those early prayers for humility?

Nor were the conflicts with personal ambition in the effort to attain a life, motivated entirely by ideals and principles, purely negative in their result, even judged by the most pragmatic criterion of conduct. The mind that desires nothing for itself is a mind that sees clearly in the most tangled situations, a mind that dares adopt far-sighted policies regardless of the pressure of contemporary opinion. Lucidity and courage are the direct results of disinterestedness. And the subsequent career of John Milton Gregory shows all three qualities in a marked degree.

It is a truism that we live in an age grown spiritually flabby. If it ever occurs to us that character is of practical importance, with more than Tennysonian optimism we trust that "somehow good will be the final goal of ill." Our Puritan forefathers operated in barbaric ignorance of right psychological mechanisms for character development. But by their kill-or-cure methods they did develop, in such personalities as they could not permanently cramp or twist, a

moral power and a fineness not to be attained by our ethical self-coddling.

The story of John Milton Gregory's life as a minister in Hoosick Falls and later in Akron, Ohio, is best told in extracts from the diary. Indeed but for a few sermons, letters, and corroborative reminiscences, the diary is our only record of his five years in the ministry.

It should be noted that the sermons that have been preserved are curiously unlike the diary in their religious tone. The sermons are logical, carefully organized pieces of writing, objective and almost unemotional. Their merit is their clarity of thought, their defect is a stiltedness and artificial ornateness of style. Evidently the young minister was conscientiously following models of contemporary pulpit oratory. The prevailing theme, however, is his own; the supreme importance of the religious life and the responsibility of every human soul for its own spiritual development. But in his treatment there is no trace of the too subjective tone of the diary. One is reminded of John Bunyan's observation that the morbid fancies and "diabolic temptations," which obsessed his solitude left him when he entered the pulpit. Evidently for some temperaments public expression has a therapeutic value.

The diary begins with the writer's entrance to the ministry. The first record is June 13, 1847.

He tells of preaching "with a painful sense of effort," and continues as follows:

"I know that it is on account of my sinfulness that God refused me aid to-day and I hope that I shall henceforth realize more than ever before that my own strength is weakness. Left for home immediately after dismissal and found that my troubles were but just commenced. At first I began to fear that my voice would never hold out for more than two or three months, but this fear soon gave way to others of a more alarming kind, viz., that through vanity and love of worldly applause I should make shipwreck not only of usefulness but also of salvation. With shame and anguish I found on a short review of the last few weeks that these motives had entered into every action, notwithstanding all my prayers and efforts against them. And I now found that unless God would save me I must yield up the struggle. As I rode along reflecting on this I began to doubt my love for Christ and my interest in Him. Immediately many things came up to confirm this doubt and I felt that my wickedness had been so great that I could not pray. I then asked myself what I should do about this preaching and in answer felt sure that I could never pursue any other business with a clear conscience. Thereupon concluded that I would continue to preach as long as I could, keeping my motives as pure and my heart as humble as possi-

ble and praying that God would make my ministry useful to others, but as to myself with all my unbelief and pride of heart I did not see how I could be saved. In this gloomy desperation I rested quietly until I got home when, putting out my horse, I went back into the woods determined to have the matter settled if possible. Sat down in a thicket and tried to make a calm and careful review of my acts and motives and honestly to confess to my Master my whole sinfulness. In thus confessing I found evidence again that I did and do love the Savior, and peace was restored to me. Again covenanted with Him, that I would with His aid strive to keep his commandments and obey Him, and looking to Him alone for help I would endeavor to preach His blessed gospel plainly and faithfully in simplicity and soberness and in all things I would look away from self to Him. Sat. 19. This week has been mostly passed in study. Wrote out the sermon I preached on Luke 13:24. In times of prayer during the week have been enabled to cast my cares upon the Lord, but feel almost discouraged in finding how very prone I am to lose all my religious feelings as soon as I leave the study. My reading has been in Porter's Homiletics and Fuller's Life. Feel my heart burn within me when reading the latter. Hereafter I will try to write every day in this book. To-morrow am to speak on the mountain. O my God, help me

to remember that I speak to immortal beings and in Thy hearing—help me to be plain and pungent!”

So the entries continue, with strikingly little variation in tone. Sometimes a remark like the following will occur: July 1st. “Endeavored to observe this day in fasting and prayer.” And then, at the end of the entry “Hard headache all the afternoon.” On July 6, 1847 he writes “Anniversary of my birth. This day concludes a quarter of century of my life. Perhaps, as seems probable, ere another quarter century has rolled by my great change will have come. This thought has rested with solemn weight on my spirit to-day and makes me only the more anxious to be fully engaged in my labors, that when life’s day is done its work shall have been well finished. And I this day solemnly consecrate myself anew to the Savior through whose infinite love it is that I can look forward to death without fear. In accordance with the custom of years gone by in my life, on this birthday I record my plans. The prospects that lay before me a year ago are all changed, and life itself wears quite another aspect. My present purpose is to preach the gospel in our western land as soon as I can become prepared therefor. I shall probably go west this fall or in the spring. I would not however be in haste to assume the responsibilities of the minister of Christ, but desire to commit my way to the

Lord praying him to direct my steps. The Lord only can keep me faithful and I feel that unless he does keep me thus I am utterly lost."

The unity of tone makes it difficult to select passages for quotation. These, however, are characteristic. "Read, while out, a letter from Elder P. to Bro. Leonard commending my piety. How little does he know how wicked and trifling the temper of my heart. But notwithstanding my own consciousness of this, my spiritual pride took occasion from these comments to lift itself up again. Felt this morning to pray for lower and more humbling views of self but feared lest God should find it necessary to subject me to some severe affliction or some great mortification before my heart would learn its own folly and feebleness." "My great trouble is that as soon as I leave my knees my thoughts wander from the Savior and I seem to strive to be religious rather than to love God with all my heart. "Visited two or three families but came home feeling how unfaithful I had been. Talked about religion rather than talked religion itself. I am too ready to turn to some other subject at the suggestion of those with whom I try to converse." "Nothing peculiar in the exercises of my mind. I fear that my hardness and coldness will become so habitual as to cease to disturb me. Indulged in unbecoming mirthfulness at dinner."

The little group at Hoosick Falls was desirous

of organizing themselves as a church. In September there is an entry in the diary, "God seems to be opening the way for us, and yet my mind has been so much fixed elsewhere that I feel to hesitate concerning organization lest it should lay me under obligations to stay here longer than this winter. And yet if here is my field of duty I do pray that it may be shown me. But my own heart feels so cold and ungrateful that I much fear that God will not bless my labors anywhere." Later he writes, "I get almost discouraged and ashamed to ask God for more grace; for I fear that my desire to be a humble devoted Christian springs from a desire of worldly success. I have learned to believe that the humble and contrite preacher is the most successful, and I fear that the desire to be successful and well spoken of among men leads me to seek humility. I am like Diogenes prouder in my tub than many a boasting and haughty Alexander."

November 13 he records "The subject of my ordination was again called up and again I begged off. I do not know but that some wrong motives enter into my repugnance to ordination. Satan suggested to me that if it were not from fear of the world I would leave the ministry and go back to my beloved law."

The church was duly organized, and in December "The church voted to call me to ordination. I fear that I am not sufficiently devoted

to my work and consecrated to God. At present I feel contented to stay here; but my proud, ambitious heart is ever suggesting that in a few years I shall have a larger and more popular field. I fear that this pride will yet ruin me." But he yielded to the demand of the church. On December 23 he was ordained.

The inner conflicts seem to have been if possible intensified by the formal entry into the ministry. The system of repressions which were the Puritan method of spiritual discipline resulted in records like the following: "I have seemed to myself for the last few days like a moral volcano, in which were raging in fiercer and hotter fury pride and lust and every devilish passion ready, whenever the restraining grace of God should be withdrawn, to burst forth into disgraceful eruption. I strive to fight and pray against indwelling sin, but I tremble when I see how little I prevail." There are memoranda of more fasts, with resulting violent headaches, and the stern comment "It is better to starve the body than kill the soul." In April he writes, "I was mercifully enabled to keep yesterday a complete fast without being made sick, and this though my health has been poor for some time. I have suffered much from severe pain in the left side and chest and it has only seemed as a messenger sent to tell me to hasten to do my work for I must die and not live." His health was evidently failing rap-

idly. In May he writes, "Have been so much sick that I do not think I realize how near my end may probably be, and fear that my fancied resignation to die early is because I do not fully realize it as a truth."

June eleventh, just before the first year of the diary ends, comes an entry which marks the turning point back to comparative spiritual health. "I have neglected my journal latterly because I have concluded its tendency to be bad. It leads too much to a melancholy brooding over my own dark corruptions which although it may seem to promote a sort of humility is unfavorable to love and faith. It draws attention and confines it too much to self and leaves too little heart and courage for those external charities which are the proper fruits of faith. I would I might forget self in the love of God and of my fellow man." From this date the entries are shorter, less frequent, and increasingly less introspective.

July 6 brings the usual birthday record. "The rolling year has brought again the anniversary of my birth and I am twenty-six years of age. A year to me the most eventful and important of all my life has terminated and as I look back upon its processes and note how the expectations and plans of my last birthday have all been disappointed I cannot but feel more forcibly than ever that God directs my ways. Within the year I have been solemnly and publicly ordained to the

work of the ministry, have had a church organized on my field of labor, have enjoyed a revival, and have baptized 38 souls. I feel that my own religious principles and character have gathered strength and stability during the year, and although I have to mourn still over the ingratitude and manifold imperfections of my evil heart, yet I can rejoice in a stronger faith and a more assured hope. This year my plan for the future is to strive to do God's will."

During this year several neighboring towns had offered pastorates to John Milton Gregory. The church at Shaftesbury was especially persistent in its invitation. But his sense of responsibility to the little group at Hoosick Falls led him to refuse any other offer.

He seems to have been reading widely to remedy his lack of a seminary training. One finds mention of the literature of theological controversy, but more frequently the lives of mystics like Mme. Guyon. The question of "entire sanctification," which was a popular subject of debate at that time, was apparently much in his thoughts. And indeed this rather soothing doctrine seems to have been a subject of meditation salutary for his overstrained religious mood.

There occurs in this part of the diary a memorandum of detailed resolutions which is sufficiently characteristic to warrant quotation in full: "And now feeling that no general resolution will

avail to keep me in the right way and protect me from the disastrous effects of negligence and forgetfulness, and knowing the need of some definite and steady plan of life, not as a thing in which to trust but as a facility in asking Divine aid and in making our faith more specific, I now adopt the following rules of life:

- I. *Time.* 1. I will arise early in the morning, say 5 o'clock.
2. I will do everything in its proper time working diligently.
3. I will not waste time by loitering between employments.
4. I will not prolong unprofitable visits, nor useless conversation.
5. I will remember that my time is short and belongs to God.
- II. *Devotion.* 1. I will not permit (if I can prevent it) anything to disturb or retrench my secret devotions.
2. I will strive at each time for the most sensible communion with God, avoiding wandering thoughts and exercising a specific faith.
3. I will endeavor for a continually prayerful state.
- III. *Conduct and Conversation.* 1. I will strive to treat everyone with steady cheerful kindness.

2. I will not talk much or answer hastily.
3. I will not talk of myself when I can avoid it.
4. I will not be in haste to explain and defend my motives.
5. I will strive to surpass these rules and live with a constant reference to the glory of God, and will as far as is consistent keep a diary in order to correct my faults.

Thus far this week I have been abled by the grace of God to observe my rules for early rising and to a great extent for the improvement of time, and during the week have enjoyed a sense of God's presence, especially in prayer. I have been tried too in soul occasionally by the hiding of God's countenance and a feeling of consequent coldness, as though life and even religion had lost every attraction."

In September, 1848, there occurs another epoch-marking record. "On the fourth of September having mostly recovered from my illness I went to Sand Lake and on the following Wednesday, Sept. 6, was married by the Rev. E. G. Perry to Miss Julia, daughter of Dr. Charles H. Gregory, a cousin of my father's. Left the same day in company with several brothers and sisters for Po'keepsie. The following Sabbath evening preached to the Baptist Church in Po'-keepsie from Rom. 8:28. The next week we visited Dover where on Wed. evening I

preached from Gal. 6:9. Going from Dover to Amenia we returned the next Monday to Po'keepsie where learning the death of a cousin John H. Belden in Dover we started the next day for Dover again where on Wed. in accordance with a request made by the deceased while living I preached the funeral sermon. Text 2 Cor. 4:17. He obtained a hope in his last hours but like all death bed repentances it was untested. Thursday evening, we having returned to Po'keepsie I preached from Phil. 2:7. On Friday afternoon and evening heard John B. Gough lecture on the subject of temperance. Saturday returned to Sand Lake. Sab. the 24 preached morning and evening at the last mentioned place from Matt. 18:11 and from Cor. 5:14. Wed. Addressed the teachers at a Sab. School celebration in S. L., and today, Sept. 29, returned to Hoosick Falls."

The bride who receives such casual mention here among the carefully recorded texts of sermons was the daughter of Dr. Charles H. Gregory, son of Dr. Uriah Gregory who was an uncle of Joseph Gregory; so that Julia and John M. were second cousins. Her father was an able and public spirited physician, an active abolitionist whose house was later one of the stations of the underground railway.

Julia Gregory was married the day before she was eighteen years old. There are many reminis-

cences of her beauty and her charm. Poor, pretty, ill-starred child, the path she was entering was a hard one. That evangelical wedding journey might have been an omen. Her husband loved her devotedly and did all in his power to secure her happiness. But the life of a pastor's wife, in a poverty stricken small town chiefly interested in gossip and in its own narrow theology, is not easy. When the pastor himself was an unworldly and ascetic young man with broken health and an appetite for spiritual martyrdoms, one feels that the girl bride must indeed have walked a thorny path.

Before the year is over the diary records her discontent with life in Hoosick Falls, where she found the society of the church utterly uncongenial. A few months more and the records of her failing health begin. It was soon apparent that she could never adjust herself to the rigid and insatiable demands a Puritan church felt itself entitled to make of any woman so unfortunate as to be the wife of its pastor. Her increasing unhappiness and nervous invalidism were a perpetual source of grief and anxiety to her husband. For her sake he soon left Hoosick Falls, and when it became clear that no change of location could make her content in a parsonage, for her sake he left the ministry. Looking over John Milton Gregory's life as a whole, one is profoundly grateful to Julia Gregory for causing

her husband to leave a profession where, in spite of the soul-racking efforts at adjustment recorded in the diary, it is evident he could never have found the fullest scope for his powers. But we will let the diary tell its own story of the next few years:

“July 6, 1849. *Natale die*. Another year of my earthly pilgrimage is done. Two events to my mind seem the most important to myself of all the year’s record, the one to my earthly prospects, the other to my eternal. The first is my marriage which occurred 10 months ago today; the other is the adoption of the belief of entire sanctification in this life. I have now for about two months been seeking to have my heart cleansed, my carnal nature slain, and to be filled with the love of God. I have sometimes hoped for a little time that the blessings was mine, but the return of some unsanctified desire has cast me again into doubt. Nevertheless my faith in the doctrine increases, and also my desire for a personal possession of the great grace. I have in some measure been made victorious over indwelling sin and I have many proofs that God is working in and for me. I intended to make this a day of secret devotion, but ill health has mostly prevented. God’s will be done. Jan. 7, 1850. A little daughter was born to us.

March 18, 1850. I record for future reference some movements in my passing life. Last fall I

opened a correspondence with the secretary of the Missionary Union in reference to my being sent into the missionary field under their auspices. My wife not seeing the pathway of duty clearly leading to a missionary life, and ill health at present proving an obstacle to both of us I shall probably abandon the design, even if the committee of the Union do not find an objection to me in my views of sanctification. I trust that no unworthy or selfish motive leads me to this decision.

My dear wife finds our present abode, through the total uncongeniality of the society she meets among the church and from other causes, so unpleasant that I have promised to leave at the end of this year, provided Providence does not clearly make it my duty to stay here. I have been led to this decision by reflecting that it is a sacred duty to secure as far as I consistently can the happiness and welfare of those absolutely dependent on me. Perhaps this is an indication of Providence that I am required elsewhere. The people of Cambridge have applied to the church here to procure my services a part of the time but were refused. They now wish me to come to Cambridge in case I leave H. F. Yesterday there were two Brethren from the Lakeville church, Wash. Co., here to get me to come there as pastor. I have promised to visit them but I feel little inclination for either of those two places. God direct my steps.

July 6, 1850. *Natale Die*. The scroll of life is unrolled another page. This day I am twenty-eight years of age. The mercies of another year, O God, call for grateful acknowledgment. Over the long dark list of its sins I pray thee cast the mantle of thy divine forgiveness. The history of this year shows but little progress to my mind in the divine life. Yet I think I can truly say it is my settled and steady desire to become holy.

“My eye pauses less and less frequently among the trifles of earth. The grandeur and glory of human life in its heavenward aspects have sensibly dimmed the glitter of the earthly hopes which formerly so much annoyed me by exciting an excessive and unhallowed ambition. And yet I have to mourn more than ever over the coldness and carelessness of my heart and life. I would to God I might be more Christlike, and more divested of the proud selfishness which besets me. The past year has been an active one to a degree, but I cannot say I have done what I could. I have preached much at home and abroad, with some success. The indications of Providence humbly, I hope, and prayerfully and submissively studied have at length determined me to leave Hoosick Falls. The last Sunday in this month will close my labors in a field in which I have been greatly blest and prospered.

“My plans point westward, but where I shall

settle is known only to God. My health is better than a year ago mostly I think from the disuse of butter and fat meats. This year has made me a father and has opened up a new fountain of feeling in my soul. Another string has been added to the harp of a thousand strings; to vibrate pleasure or pain as God wills. 1852. Jan. 1st. A long blank in the records of this book, but not blank in the passages of real life. After the entry above I left Hoosick Falls as proposed. Visited points in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. There was some talk of my settling at Detroit, but their pastor unexpectedly remained and I received a call from Kenosha, which I declined in compliance with the feelings of my wife and friends. Finally in October I received and accepted a call to settle in Akron, Summit Co., Ohio, where I am now writing. Through the last summer my wife was absent. In September I went to Sand Lake for her and was attacked with a severe fit of fever and ague. This led me for a time to entertain the notion of returning no more to the West, and I nearly concluded to accept a unanimous and urgent call extended me by the Sand Lake church. Duty after a long doubt seemed finally to declare in favor of Akron." There follow the usual list of birthday resolutions, concluding "I intend this year as one of my studies to read the Greek Testament carefully through." This exercise became a reg-

ular part of his intellectual and spiritual disciplines each year thereafter.

"1852. July 11. Last Tuesday was the anniversary of my entrance into this world. I was engaged through the day in teaching and had no time to make my usual birthday record in this book. I find that I failed altogether in making any record last birthday, for which I am extremely sorry. These pages on which no eye but my own ever looks not only serve to preserve the chain of memories unbroke, but show me the changing phases of my own interior self. I strive to write with great confidence, and yet I am not at all sure that the thought that some day after I am gone from earth this little book may fall into other hands may not give shape to many of my sentences and color my thoughts. I hope that whoever may read will judge me gently though faithfully for their own sakes. But it is more probable that these lines will be lost in ashes ere my soul departs.

"The saddest and most trying year of life as yet has closed." (Here follows a record of the increasing ill health of the young wife whom he loved so tenderly) "Fearing for the consequences to her if no change was made, and hoping that a change of life for a few years might mitigate if not remove the evil, and moreover feeling that my health must soon fail under the double burden of public cares and private trial, I concluded in

February last to relinquish the pulpit for a time and seek other business. Accordingly, after much painful hesitation I resigned my post at Akron and the last of March came to Detroit to take charge of a high school or low college instituted for me by my brother Uriah. I was asked a fortnight since to preach for the First Baptist Church here till they might obtain a pastor, but I sadly relinquished an opportunity as I felt for usefulness. So here I am at the age of thirty, the age when the Savior began his public ministry, shut up in the providence of an unerring God from what has certainly seemed to me to be the great business of my life. I still cherish hopes of being useful in a good cause, perhaps in the promotion of Christian union. As for my personal progress in piety, it seems to me that I never have had less encouragement to hope from it. I fear that my trials have oftener irritated than humbled me. There is before me no clearly depicted and hoped for future. Struggling with difficulties of all sorts, I only hope not to be crushed and destroyed by them."

CHAPTER III.

THE diary record for 1852 closed with a note of discouragement and uncertainty. Indeed those five years in the ministry stand apart from the otherwise unified course of Mr. Gregory's development, a blind alley, fruitful only in the general maturing of character which might have taken place equally under more congenial circumstances. The year 1853 brought but little change, nor is its record significant. In 1854 the real career of Mr. Gregory as an educator may be said to begin with his membership in the State Teachers' Association and the founding of the *Michigan Journal of Education*.

I have said that John Milton Gregory had essentially the mind of a teacher, that his peculiar gift was for educating rather than originating ideas. Yet the actual work of the class room was never enough to call out his full powers. It is noteworthy that his early experiences as a teacher, happy and successful though they were, did not incline him to the choice of that profession at his graduation. The first year of his principalship in the Detroit Classical School is recorded in the despondent entry quoted above. The reason is not far to seek. It was the first condition of happiness and growth for Mr. Gregory as for everyone that his latent energy

should be fully utilized. Direct personal service such as teaching or preaching, no matter how humbly and conscientiously performed, could not do this. There were in him constructive powers—insight into public needs, capacity for organization, vision—qualities of statemanship which although he himself was not yet conscious of them kept him ill at ease in restricted positions. The ‘ambition’ which cost him so many penitent hours was indeed less a desire for personal recognition than an obscure sense of undeveloped potentialities. This was none the less true that like most young men he had only the vaguest notion of the proper direction of his ability.

Supernormal youth finds itself slowly. The first six years out of college had brought Mr. Gregory practically no nearer his lifework than he was at graduation. In 1853 he was only the somewhat overworked and worried principal of a private academy, in uncertain health and burdened with the care of three small children and an invalid wife.

But the preceding year had been marked by an event significant for the history of education in Michigan. On October 12, 1852, during the progress of a teachers’ institute held immediately after the dedication of the first Normal School building, the preliminary organization of a State Teachers’ Association was effected. The initiative came from Professor A. S. Welch, the prin-

principal of the new Normal School, to whose pioneer work in education the Michigan school system owes much. As Professor Welch was in subsequent years a colleague and warm personal friend of Mr. Gregory we may digress for a word of his biography. A native of Connecticut, he came west early, and graduated from the University of Michigan in the same year that Mr. Gregory graduated from Union. He too began the study of law only to be deflected to another profession. But in Professor Welch's case the second choice was the permanent one. He became principal of a Union School. His success there led to his election to the principalship of the Ypsilanti State Normal. In 1853 under his leadership the formal organization of the State Teachers' Association was completed, a constitution adopted, and Professor Welch reelected to the presidency.

At the third semi-annual meeting, in September 1853, Mr. Gregory became a member of the Association in which he was for fourteen years to be a dominant force. At the same meeting many of the men and women who were to be his co-workers appeared for the first time: Dr. J. A. B. Stone, first president of Kalamazoo College; Mrs. Stone, associated with him as Lady Principal; Ira Mayhew, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Professor J. F. Carey of the University of Michigan (who was perhaps Mr. Gregory's closest personal friend); and

many others.

To appreciate the significance of this Association we must know something of conditions in Michigan during the fifties. That was approximately the first generation after actual pioneering. Michigan's cultural history was much like that of other middle western states. The first settlers who came in considerable numbers were men from the East, in this case predominantly from New York and New England; educated men for the most part, bringing with them memories of well developed school systems and a profound belief in the principle of public schooling. But the struggle to wrest a livelihood from virgin forest and prairie forces less immediate considerations into the background for a time. A squatter has small leisure for teaching his own children and the isolation of pioneer farm life made difficult the establishment of schools. Non-descript private institutions sprang up in the cities; the legislature passed a pompous and farcical enactment establishing a "Cathelepistemiad or University" under which, fortunately, no actual institution ever took form. It was not until 1827 that a bona fide school law was enacted. This was a taking over of early school laws of New York and Massachussetts, ill suited to the very different conditions in Michigan. Although it gave the new territory on paper what sounded like a tolerably complete system of public instruc-

tion, even this unsatisfactory system remained chiefly on paper for the next decade. Where schools existed at all they were of a type described by a contemporary as follows: "There were as yet no professional teachers. Some farmer or mechanic, or perhaps a grown up son or daughter, who had had the advantages of the common schools of New York or New England, offered his or her services as teacher during the dull seasons of regular employment. The school was housed in a log structure, covered with bark, imperfectly plastered between the logs to exclude the cold, and still more imperfectly warmed by an open fire-place or by a box stove, for which fuel was provided, as board for the teacher is, by proportional contributions. The school books are miscellaneous and consist largely of those brought by parents when emigrating to the territory." (1)

In 1837 John D. Pierce, justly called the father of the Michigan school system, was appointed first State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Superintendent Pierce was a man of vision; his statesmanlike grasp of the first needs of the Michigan Schools was equalled only by his energy in seeking to meet those needs. But the task before him was one in which no single man could hope to do more than make a beginning.

(1) Daniel Putnam, "The Development of Primary and Secondary Public Education in Michigan," p. 18.

Moreover, his hands were tied by the limited powers the constitution had entrusted to him. The legislators of Michigan were not minded to have thrust upon the public a school system more complete than that public demanded.

The demands of the Michigan public were, to say the least, limited. The second generation from pioneer conditions is somewhat inaccessible to the claims of culture. These were men who had grown up in an environment that directed their attention strongly to the need of material progress. Increasing prosperity made them self-complacent. Having done so well without education themselves, they were little inclined to desire it for their children. Schooling the most rudimentary was all they deemed necessary. Sometimes they even distrusted other learning as likely to blunt the fine practicality of the man who knows as little as possible of books.

On the other hand, the Michigan public had all the grandiloquence characteristic of new and prosperous communities. If older states spoke proudly of their public school systems, clearly Michigan must outboast them. The result was what one might expect: an imposing array of apparently generous but actually impractical and neglected legislative enactments; a crop of windy orations on the glories of education and the Michigan schools; a public apathetic where not actually

hostile to the real demands of a workable educational system.

The Michigan Legislature was conservative in its support of the schools. It followed rather than led public opinion. That public opinion was, as we have seen, sorely in need of guidance. In this situation it was of the greatest importance that schoolmen throughout the state should develop a group consciousness, clarify and articulate their views of educational policy, and form a nucleus of definite, informed, and earnest opinion for the guidance of legislature and public.

Such a nucleus the State Teachers' Association speedily became. We have seen that by the third meeting it had on its roll most of the names destined to be prominent in the next two decades of Michigan education. Many of these men were, like Mr. Gregory, young eastern collegians of little reputation as yet who in the State Teachers' Association gained their first view of the larger educational problems which were to be their life work. The Association proved its power in securing financial support for Teachers' Institutes, in establishing township and graded schools, and in forcing from an indifferent legislature countless necessary enactments and appropriations. For many years it chose the State Superintendent of Public Instruction from among its members, by its judicious efforts securing his nomination and election. Not the least of its functions were

the discovery and recognition of able educators; Mr. Gregory was only one of many eminent men who were brought to public notice first through the Michigan State Teachers' Association.

But the development of leaders was not the most important function of the Association. Within its own membership it was confronted with a task of education. Out of the mass of ill trained young persons of meagre schooling who formed the rank and file of Michigan teachers in the fifties it was necessary to evolve a body of educators with an effective grasp of the function, methods and ideals of their profession. Given such a body the guidance of public opinion and of its legislative expression would become comparatively easy. But here again was the vicious circle. The teachers came from the untaught public. However well intentioned, they were quite unqualified to be ministers of light to a self-satisfied and ignorant young state. The intervening factor in this case was a small group of young men, of eastern training for the most part, who through these critical decades worked tirelessly at the double task of organizing and educating those who should in turn educate the community. Among these Mr. Gregory was early recognized as a dominant spirit. In the year following his entrance to the organization he succeeded Principal Welch as its president. The custom of the Association was opposed to reelec-

tion of presidents, but thereafter Mr. Gregory's name figured largely on all important committees and in all significant discussions his was a determining voice.

We have seen that the school situation in Michigan called for a twofold remedy: (1) the securing of adequate financial support, intelligent legislation, and provision for better training of teachers, and (2) the organization, education, and inspiration of teachers already in the schools. There were two groups at work for the furtherance of these aims: (1) official, in the Superintendent of Schools and his assistants; (2) voluntary, in the State Teachers' Association. The Superintendent and his coadjutors worked for the first of these aims through the interpretations and enforcement of the school laws, and Reports to the legislature; for the second, by visitation of schools and support of Teachers' Institutes. The Association's influence in the molding of public opinion has already been discussed. Its other function, that of spreading its principles through the rank and file of as yet unawakened primary teachers, was fulfilled through its organ, the *Journal of Education*. It will be seen that in both the official and the voluntary institutions that were molding the educational system of Michigan in its most formative years, the fifties and sixties, John Milton Gregory was a leader. The educational questions with which Mr.

Gregory had to deal were so many and so complex that it seems wisest to give the history of this important period year by year as it is recorded in the diary, in the *Journal of Education*, and later in his reports as Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Turning to the diary, we find the birthday record July 6, 1854 as follows: "The records of life have been swelled by the events of another year. My birthday found me in the schoolroom, and now three days afterward I make this annual addition to the annals of my life. The busiest year of my life has just closed. I began last January the publication of an educational magazine and this with my duties as teacher has compelled me to almost unrelenting toil. One benefit at least has resulted from these labors: they have saved me from much suffering that I should otherwise have endured in view of other troubles. As to the history of the inner and higher life I must write briefly and sadly. My cares have burdened by mind and nearly starved it. God only can measure the amount and determine the direction of our true progress. The privation of fixed times and places for secret prayer has been a great detriment. My plans for the future embrace nothing but a continuance."

The educational magazine mentioned here was the *Michigan Journal of Education*. The need of a professional organ for Michigan teachers

had long been felt. On the organization of the State Teachers' Association the question of such a publication was raised; at the third meeting (1853) the undertaking of a monthly journal was definitely determined upon. The entire management was placed in the hands of a committee of five: E. O. Havens, then president of the University, A. S. Welch, president of the State Teachers' Association, Mrs. L. A. Stone, Miss Rockwell, and John Milton Gregory. The two women must have been chosen as a compliment to their sex rather than for their interest or ability. They took no part whatever in the work of the *Journal*, and in a short time resigned from its staff.

From the first Mr. Gregory was given the heavy end of the work. He was resident and managing editor. His was the responsibility of seeing that a scattered group of somewhat apathetic men and women supported their professional organ. Thereafter no meeting of the State Teachers' Association but heard his admonitions on the subject of the *Journal*. He traveled assiduously to Institutes. Wherever teachers foregathered, there was Mr. Gregory urging the claims of the *Journal*. After a few months he became in name as well as in fact the sole responsible editor. In the seventh number the following notice appears. "It having been found necessary to the success and permanency of the periodical

to rest its editorial conduct and pecuniary responsibility in the hands of the resident Editor, the gentlemen connected with him early relinquished all editorial or other control over it, leaving, however by his request, their names still upon the cover. It is now deemed due to them and to the public to announce that they are not to be held to any pecuniary or other accountability in the management of the *Journal*. In making this announcement we are permitted to say that they retain a warm interest in the *Journal* and will give it their hearty support." The Teachers' Association at its September meeting ratified the arrangement and "earnestly and unanimously requested the Rev. John M. Gregory to continue to act as editor of the *Journal* for the ensuing year." At the same meeting a campaign to secure for the *Journal* the official support of the legislature was undertaken. It may be noted here that it was not until the State Superintendent of Public Instruction made the *Journal* his official mouthpiece that it became financially self supporting.

At first the publication was a financial burden which Mr. Gregory could ill afford. One gathers from frequent notices that subscribers were dilatory in paying. Nor was the Teachers' Association prompt in redeeming its pledges of support. At the end of six months the *Journal* was still short of the 1,000 subscribers which had been es-

timated as necessary and obtainable when the publication was undertaken.

Further, even the little group of trained men who were the nucleus of the Association and upon whom the *Journal* relied for its material were often neglectful. The editor complains that almost no contributions were sent in without repeated solicitation. Every page represented hard labor on the part of Mr. Gregory; he either wrote it himself or extorted it from some dilatory schoolman.

Nevertheless, thanks largely to the indefatigable enthusiasm and industry of the Resident Editor, the *Journal* prospered. It fulfilled the hopes of its most enthusiastic advocates as a means of forming and organizing educational opinion. In the administration of state education it became a recognized force.

The statement of aims with which President Havens, speaking for the Editors, introduced the first number is worth quoting; it represents the temper and spirit maintained by the *Journal* throughout its career. "We propose in this journal to give you—if you will read it—an accurate and full exposition of the educational movements, particularly of our own state, and as far as practicable of others. We propose to criticise these movements candidly, pointing out both defects and excellencies. We propose to present from time to time theoretically and systematical-

ly what we conceive to be the best methods of instruction; not binding ourselves blindly to take any institutions, foreign or native, as an exclusive model, but to examine all, selecting as far as may be the excellencies of all, and rejecting their evils, and not fearing to propose any original method that may appear worthy of a trial. We do not bind ourselves to walk in any beaten track, or defend any set course, or even not to change our own opinions; we aim to be progressive and will endeavor to keep our minds open to all light. Correspondents who give us their names will be allowed and are cordially invited, to present their views, and to select this as their organ of speaking to the people on the great subject of Education. We have taken up this enterprise because our hearts are in it; because as practical teachers we feel the need of light, and can conduct this periodical without interfering with our success in our daily work, but rather promoting it; and we expect no other reward than the pleasure of awakening and deepening and rightly directing a stronger interest in this great cause. This we crave and this we expect; and whether the *Journal* be sickly or strong, if we live it shall number at least twelve months, and then, if it must fall, honorably die. But we flatter ourselves that it has vigor enough, if you properly feed it, to reach a venerable old age and never become infirm."

The first volume of the *Journal* is on the whole

representative. There is perhaps a tendency to generalize about education which in subsequent volumes gave place to more concrete discussions of specific problems. It must be remembered in this criticism however that the *Journal* was addressing itself to a public, even among teachers, at a very elementary level of thought about education. There was every need that the most obvious principles be stated even at the risk of seeming platitudinous. Most of the subjects with which the *Journal* as a whole concerned itself appear from the beginning. There are reports of the State Teachers' Association, Teachers' Institutes, and other gatherings. Text books and others of professional interest are reviewed. There are special articles on the principles and practice of education in other times and places. There are discussions of pedagogic method. Finally, there are significant articles and reports on the four great problems with which educational opinion was occupying itself at that time: moral and religious education; vocational (especially agricultural) education; the provision of higher educational opportunities for women; and, perhaps most pressing, the normal training of teachers.

In 1855 the Association induced the Board of Education to send copies of the *Journal* to every township in the state. This official support put the *Journal* for a time at least on a paying basis

and made it possible for Mr. Gregory to resign his principalship of the Classical School. Indeed his activities for the *Journal* and the State Teachers' Association and the increasing demands upon him for addresses to educational assemblies made some lightening of his work imperative. In the preceding September he had been prevented by illness from attending the State Teachers' Association, of which he was at that time president. The diary records, together with increasing duties, frequent and serious ill health.

"*July 6, 1855.* I am still living on the Earth, though a sudden illness which has confined me to the house the most of this birthday warns me of the frittleness of the bond which binds me to life. For the last six months I have been released from the toil of teaching, and have devoted myself mainly to the editing of the *Journal of Education*. I have during this time traveled much through the state to attend educational meetings, and to organize county educational societies, and my health has been generally the better for my travels. It has been the most prosperous year of my life pecuniarily. Not only have I realized a larger income, but having last August purchased a house and lot it has risen in value full \$500, so that while one year ago I was worth nothing or but a hundred or two prospectively I now own property to the amount of \$1500. But I am led

seriously to question whether either my happiness or usefulness is likely to be increased by this prosperity, and I seriously fear that I am setting my heart open to the insidious love of money. I devoutly pray that I may not prosper at the expense of my soul."

"Within the last few weeks I have been elected by the Board of Trustees of Kalamazoo College to the principalship of the new Female College to be established at Kalamazoo under their charter. With much hesitation I have finally intimated my readiness to accept it if I can be excused till next January. The reasons pro and contra are mainly these: Pro. 1st. It is a post of much usefulness and importance. 2nd. In the opinion of many good men it is my duty to go, and it is urged upon me by all. 3d. Kalamazoo is a much pleasanter place of residence to my mind than Detroit. I dislike a city. 4th. It offers superior advantages for the education of our children. 5th. My present business is not permanent and I am not likely to have a better position offered than this. Per Contra. 1st. I feel but little inclination or competency to take charge of a female school. I should much prefer to teach young men. 2d. It will be a pecuniary sacrifice unless I can keep charge of the Journal, nor do I know that this would be desirable as it would overwhelm me with work and leave me too little time and strength to conduct the enterprise

successfully. 3d. It would call me from a field of great importance and usefulness which I now occupy. May God guide me. I think I am seeking to do my duty, for I certainly am not following my own inclination

"The religious side of my history for the year is somewhat obscure. I think my sense of the presence of God has been more vivid for the past few weeks than through the earlier portion of the year. But I have still to say, 'Oh that it were with me as in years gone by.' I wish I might here and now consecrate myself fully and forever to the Lord."

Comparing this record with the earlier ones we cannot but feel that the transition from a life of religious introspection to a life of self expression through constructive action is well under way. But the puritanism is still manifest. One smiles in spite of the pathos at the young man, who, in ill health and with an invalid wife and three small children, fears he is "setting his heart open to the insidious love of money" when he is elated over the possession of fifteen hundred dollars. Tragically puritan also is the final comment, "I think I am seeking to do my duty, for I certainly am not following my own inclination."

There is another entry in the year 1855, perhaps the most poignant in the entire diary.

"Saturday the 29th of September was a dark day in my history. At 4 minutes past 4 o'clock

in the morning our little Walter died. He had been sick three weeks. He died peacefully with a slight sobbing sound like a child sinking to sleep after crying. At ten o'clock we took the cars through Canada to carry the corpse to Sand Lake for burial. We reached Troy on Sunday morning, and soon met friends who had come out to conduct us home. In the afternoon we buried our little boy's remains near the grave of his mother's mother, and after a few days visit among friends returned to our house. Thus closed the brief life (2 years, 10 and a half months) of our happy and much loved son. He was an affectionate and intelligent child of more than ordinary promise. Oh, how bitterly the blow fell on my heart! But I cannot doubt that it was best for him. He rests in the arms of Him who as a man had no children of his own and is therefore fitted impartially to receive and love all little children, and who said 'suffer little children to come unto me.' Dear Savior of my soul, sanctify this affliction to me that I too as a little child may come more humbly unto thee!"

1856 was a prosperous and successful year both for the Journal and its editor. The birthday record summarizes it as follows: "The past year has been an eventful one and has witnessed the usual changes in my purposes and prospects. Judged by these birthday records I fear my career must seem a fickle one; and yet I suppose

I do not form any more new plans than men ordinarily do, only mine are put on record. Early last winter, having found our home too desolate and lonely after little Walter's death, my wife and little daughter went east to spend the winter. I had before relinquished, on account of my wife's feelings, all idea of going to Kalamazoo and had sent in my resignation. After much deliberation I concluded again to try the pulpit and accepted an invitation to supply through the winter the church in Ann Arbor, with the intention of becoming the pastor if my health would permit. But the spring found me so seriously affected with a spinal complaint of some years standing that I was obliged to decline. The seventh of April I bought a house and nearly 13 acres of land in Ann Arbor for \$1259. On my wife's return in the latter part of April we moved out and are now residing here. The labors forced upon me in repairing and finishing the house and cultivating a little land have very greatly benefited my health and I am still supplying temporarily the pulpit here each Sabbath. The fourth of June another little daughter was born to us; a sweet little girl. May she long be spared to us."

The *Journal of Education* supplements this outline with notices of lectures and committee work which must have filled Mr. Gregory's days to overflowing. In the State Teachers' Association he was chairman of the committee on Eng-

lish Classics, and the committee on the *Journal*, and a member of the executive committee and several other committees besides. He was invited by several local boards of education to deliver addresses; he attended and addressed a number of teachers' institutes; he was appointed one of a committee of three to attend the State Teachers' Convention in Illinois. Also, as recorded above, he held an important pastorate in Ann Arbor.

It was probably at the time of this temporary return to specifically religious work that Mr. Gregory wrote a series of able and influential articles on Christian unity, which appeared in the *Christian Herald*. It will be remembered that his diary at the time he left the ministry expressed the hope that he might do something in furtherance of this ideal. Certainly it was a subject near his heart at all times. A more vigorous denunciation of both the form and spirit of sectarianism than these articles would be difficult to find. He declares that the divisions in religious bodies are in plain disobedience to the commands of Christ. He attributes to sectarianism a large measure of the Church's failure to accomplish its high purpose. Nor does he feel that any contribution had been made to religious thought through the discussions and dissensions. He concludes, "If only he who does the will of God shall know of the doctrine, then it may well be doubt-

ed whether the truth owes anything to the controversies of religious foes."

In the *Journal* for this year Mr. Gregory continued with renewed force his campaign for an aroused public opinion on the subject of education. The January number opens with a reaffirmation of purpose: "Amidst the millions of workers who with hand work or thought-work are seeking to fill the measure of duty and to meet the demands of Earth's vast wants, we again resume our post, and if with a soberer hope than heretofore by reason of our better knowledge of the difficulties in our way, yet with no diminished feeling of the importance of our task, and no weakened determination to succeed. A great and vital public interest called our *Journal* into existence; the advocacy of that interest still demands its issue. The duty of the present generation to educate its successors on the great stage of life is a duty so remote and so unselfish as to need that it shall be urged upon mankind with the importunity of a continued iteration."

The May editorial is a discussion of method. "Public opinion alone has power to furnish our schools with men of mark as teachers and to demand a generous culture for the masses of our children. In the cultivation of public opinion, as in the formation of private, the material to be employed is simple fact and plain truth, and this must be addressed to the mind through the eye or

ear. We advocate first, then, an earnest and systematic effort on the part of friends of popular education to get before the people printed appeals and statements, which shall awaken them to a sense of the vital need and vast importance of a true and liberal education of the young. In Connecticut a Bill was introduced into the legislature appropriating \$400 for the distribution of educational tracts, and in Pennsylvania and Ohio many of the secular papers are devoting one or more columns weekly to educational affairs as they have long been accustomed to do for agriculture. These instrumentalities should both be seized upon and used. Our best teachers should be invited to prepare tracts for the people, and aided to join in the work. Nor should the *Journal of Education* be forgotten. Its circulation should be doubled as fast as possible.

“A second measure of reform, and one more adapted to pioneer work than any other is a system of public lectures. Here again Connecticut has set us a good example. The Superintendent of Public Instruction there has been authorized to procure a public meeting to be held and lectures to be given in every school society in the state. No agency so reaches and fires the public mind as the voice of a living, earnest speaker, and we should expect the happiest results could competent speakers be procured to visit and address every township in the state. This measure has al-

ready caught the attention of some earnest and thoughtful minds amongst us and needs only to be properly initiated to attract to it the favor of all the friends of popular education. We owe it to ourselves and to the state that earnest measures be soon devised and adopted." (1)

The September number contains a significant report on the subject of county superintendents. Of this a word:

The Michigan State Constitution of 1850 provided in each township a board of three school inspectors chosen annually in the same manner as other township officers. The township clerk was at first *ex officio* clerk of the board, later a full member. He was required to report to the county clerk annually. The inspectors were required to "visit all the schools in the township at least twice in each year to inquire into their condition, examine the scholars, and to give such advice to both teachers and scholars as they shall deem proper." This system was thoroughly ineffectual. The casual visitations of untrained inspectors were useless, even where they were not omitted entirely. One of the first reforms undertaken by the State Teachers' Association was the correction of this system and the substitution of a qualified County Superintendent who should exercise an adequate supervision of schools. Mr. Gregory was chairman of the committee for pre-

(1) M. Journal of Ed., vol. 3, p. 138.

paring a memorial to the legislature on this subject. His report for the committee to the Association is characteristic in its analysis of the situation. He concludes "Our schools are not accomplishing nearly all that might be accomplished with the same number of teachers and the same amount of money." The remedies he sees are three: First, "the diffusion of correct views of the whole theory and object of school instruction." "No reform," he writes, "can be successful and permanent which is not demanded and sustained by public sentiment. In school matters the public opinion is confessedly low-toned and often mistaken. In general it either lets the schools alone or interferes to embarrass and corrupt them. It by no means demands a high education for the whole people, and seconds but ill, if it seconds at all, the efforts of the intelligent teacher." "The second reform demanded is the elevation of the character and qualification of our teachers. It is the grand educational problem of the times, how shall we obtain the men and women, wise, commanding, and pure, fitted by grace of character and grace of manners, to train the millions of children in this land? The coming of these men and women must precede any high advancement in the character of our schools. But their coming is not from abroad. They must be found in our midst and for the most part among the very teachers who oc-

cupy our school rooms. Finally, as a third remedy and one which will tend strongly to produce, if it does not necessarily involve the other two, your committee would suggest a thorough and intelligent supervision of the schools exercised by county or district superintendents. In our educational system, as in every enterprise in which a large number of men are engaged in a common labor, much of the success depends on the employment of an intelligent and energetic supervisory agency.” (1)

If the last point were broadened to include further necessary reforms in the organization of the system, this might serve as a summary of the program of John Milton Gregory’s work for the schools of Michigan. The awakening of intelligent public opinion, the education of the teachers in the schools, and the reform of the system itself in the light of the experience of other states; these were the three principles for which, as schoolman, editor, and later State Superintendent, he worked unceasingly.

The December number (1856) closes with an editorial valediction. In reviewing the accomplishment of the *Journal*’s three years the editor justly observes “It is doubtful whether any three years in our history have been so marked in our educational progress as these three.” This progress had plainly been the result of the voluntary

(1) *M. Journal of Ed.*, vol. 3, p. 283.

association of teachers, to which the *Journal* was a powerful assistance.

At the close of 1856 Mr. Gregory seems to have felt that the State Teachers' Association must for its own sake and for the sake of the *Journal* be awakened to a greater sense of responsibility for its organ. For three years he had been sole editor and manager, most of the time without remuneration. Superintendent Mayhew had been induced to subscribe for township copies for one year, but his withdrawal of support made the *Journal* once more dependent upon the State Teachers' Association. (1)

In pursuance of the policy of securing greater cooperation Mr. Gregory insisted upon the adoption of the following resolution. "Resolved, that henceforth this Association shall annually elect a Board of twelve Corresponding Editors from various parts of the state who shall be requested to furnish at least one article each for the *Journal* during the year and to apprise the resident editor

(1) In his Report for the year 1857 Mr. Mayhew assigns his reasons for the withdrawal of the subscription, as follows: (1) the remoteness of the place of publication from the state capital, making it difficult for him to see the proof of his official contributions; (2) difficulties in distributing the *Journal* to some of the districts; (3) the *Journal* not being a financially profitable venture, the expense to the state of assisting it considerable. It is clear from the nature of these objections that Superintendent Mayhew was far from understanding the significance of the *Journal*. It was not until Mr. Gregory became Superintendent that the *Journal* realized its function as the official organ of Michigan public education.

of any items of educational news from their respective vicinities."

Among the Corresponding Editors elected were E. O. Havens, A. S. Welch, and D. H. Putnam, (to whose history of public education in Michigan the present account is much indebted). In the year 1857 the *Journal* appeared under the new arrangement. Without lessening the control of the resident editor, this plan assured the cooperation and interest of at least twelve able educators. In the following winter Mr. Gregory waited upon the legislature and by his personal efforts secured the passage of a bill to send the *Journal* to the school districts. The result of these efforts for greater cooperation and for official support was a very gratifying report of the subscription lists and financial standing of the *Journal* at the close of the year.

CHAPTER IV.

IT was with deliberate intention that Mr. Gregory had sought so earnestly during the year 1857 to place the *Journal* on a secure financial foundation and to induce the Association to accept a larger responsibility for its organ. It was becoming increasingly evident that he himself would soon be called to another form of educational leadership. The diary for 1858 shows that already the next change in his life was above the horizon.

"Some uncertainty hangs over my prospects for the coming year. It seems strongly probable that I shall be nominated by the Republican Party of this state to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction and if nominated shall probably be elected. Till this is settled I can devise no general plan for the year."

There is no entry for 1857. In 1858 he writes "July 1. Yesterday was another birthday anniversary and I was 36 years old. I find that I have permitted two years to pass without my customary record. In the Fall of 1856 an attempt was made by the Republican Party to nominate me for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, but it failed on account of the conclusion of the party leaders that it was expedient to nominate all the old ticket. The next win-

ter I attended the legislature and obtained the passage of a law to send the Journal of Education to the school districts. At the close of the first year Mr. Mayhew the Supt. withdrew the State subscription. I have however continued to edit and publish it though without remuneration. It now seems probable that I shall receive the nomination of the Republicans this Fall. I have striven to keep my heart free from all taint of worldly ambition and have dwelt so often and so much upon the vanity of all worldly honors and distinctions and the real blessedness of finding God's approbation that for the most part I feel unconcerned as to the result. I much fear that this political preferment if it should come will do me no good in soul."

There is another gap in the records, and then the following entry: "July 6, 1860. My 38th birthday. Two years which have passed since I made my record in this little book have been very busy and eventful ones. On the 17th of August, my son Alfred was born. Two days afterwards I was nominated by the Republican State Convention for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. I took little part in the canvass which succeeded, making only four addresses. At the election in November I was elected by upwards 13,000 majority, and the first day of January, 1859, entered upon the duties of the office. My duties have been laborious, but not unpleas-

ant save in the pecuniary embarrassments attending the Agricultural College under our care. Dec. 30, '59, Friday A. M. our little John was born and our family thus increased to four children. June 7, the Republican State Convention again nominated me to the office I now hold. Through some mismanagement all the other State officers were left off the new ticket. My nomination under such circumstances and made also as it was by unanimous acclamation was gratifying, though in truth it was less on account of my fitness or faithfulness than because it was supposed that I was more available as a candidate than any other person that was mentioned. It seems now certain that I shall be reelected, and so I do not find myself troubled with any other plans of the future than such as relate to my work. I have long to hold in check all feelings of mere personal advancement or personal ease and to hold my mind honestly to the work before me. I expect a future, but it is rather the future that God shall unroll to me than any that I choose for myself. The cares and responsibilities of office have perhaps added to my strength of mind and purpose, as they have largely to my experience, but I fear they have not advanced my soul in its inner and true life. I have prayed less but still my confidence in God seems in some respects stronger. If my thoughts turn less frequently to religious topics, so also they are less inclined to dwell mor-

bidly on my own sinfulness. Not forgetting my sins, I see more of God's fatherly kindness and love, and trust more peacefully and permanently to that."

The record of growing serenity with which the entry closes needs no comment. One is moved to say with Carlyle, blessed is the man who has found his work. It is a relief to turn from the stormy introspection and overstrained aspiration of the early diary to these records of an increasingly sane and fruitful life. Yet how much of its unique quality the matured personality owed to the heart searchings of those early years, who shall say?

The diary account of Mr. Gregory's superintendency must be supplemented. We must turn back a little, and take up the story from other sources.

The Teachers' Association which had enthusiastically supported Mr. Gregory for the Superintendency were profuse in their expressions of gratitude to him for the *Journal*, which they justly felt owed its success largely to his efforts. The *Journal* continued under the new plan of twelve associated editors. Professor Winchell was appointed Managing Editor for the year 1859. Mr. Gregory cannot be said to have severed his connection with the magazine; throughout his superintendency he made it the medium of his communications to teachers throughout the state.

In it he published his official interpretations of school laws. Teachers were forced to have access to it, so that its circulation and prestige were assured.

Superintendent Gregory entered upon his work with a broad conception of his function. The routine of office, which he fulfilled with the thoroughness and sound judgment of a disciplined mind, was to him but a slight part of his responsibility. For seven years, in class room, editor's chair, and Teachers' Association, he had been studying the educational problems of Michigan and seeking to formulate the principles from which their solution must be reached. The superintendency was to him merely an official authorization and extension of his work. In accordance with his perception of the need for reaching and inspiring the teachers in the schools he travelled widely through the state, organizing and addressing institutes, visiting schools, talking in public and private, wherever he could gain a hearing, of the aims, methods, and principles of public education. The following extracts from the minutes of Teachers' Institutes may serve to indicate the nature and methods of his talks to teachers.

In an informal talk on methods of study occurs a characteristic statement of attitude: "The final ends of study are the same as the final ends of education itself, for the end of study is education.

The one comprehensive end of education is to fit a man for true and successful living, not in one, but in all departments of his life, in body, in mind, in heart—as a citizen, a worker in some trade or profession, a father or friend, a rational being—for the present and the future life. There are two subordinate ends of education, the necessary factors of this one grand end: (1) the attainment of power, (2) the acquisition of knowledge. The careful examination of these two will show you how you ought to study.” In the minutes of another Institute occurs the report “Mr. J. M. Gregory spoke on the theory of education or schoolroom duties. He divided the teachers’ duties into two departments; *Training*, or developing the powers, and *Teaching*, or imparting knowledge. Training was subdivided into physical, intellectual, and moral. He proceeded to discuss physical training, urging the necessity of teachers’ taking care of the health of pupils. Hard study is not destructive of health, and there is no necessity that our best and most studious pupils should lose their health. It is the confined and foul air of the school rooms and the want of exercise that ruin the health of our students and teachers. 1 P. M. Mr. Gregory resumed the subject of physical training saying that the teacher is in duty bound to take care of the health of his pupils. He proceeded then to the subject of intellectual training.” Here the

record breaks off. But enough has been given to indicate the clarity of vision and practicality of the message Superintendent Gregory brought to his teachers. In an address to the graduation class of the Normal School he says "Whoever would fitly accomplish any great work must have a constant reference to the grander aims and celestial aspects of the work as well as to its operative means and daily progress to the remote, soul inspiring ends and to the laborious details of method. Every human labor has these two sides—the end for which the work is undertaken and which furnishes the prompting purpose and motive power for the labor, and the immediate steps by which the work is to be accomplished. And herein lies the difference between the true worker and the drudge—between heroism and common labor. The true worker fixes his eye upon the grandest ends and highest uses of his work and lifts all his toil into the light of these ends and uses. The drudge forgets all ends except the daily end of his reluctant and unrelieved task work. No work of an earthly character looks more exclusively to the future than that of teaching. It seeks to shape in the child the coming man, to build in the school the future state. You have learned here the principles on which the development of the mental faculties depend. You have studied the methods of communicating knowledge, and managing schools. I will not

repeat nor seek to add to the lessons you have already learned; or will I detain you to restate the grand aims that education seeks to accomplish for man, for society, and for God. There is one of these however that seems fitting to mention now and to you. It is the universal dissemination of the art of teaching."

But the most valuable record of the problems which occupied Superintendent Gregory is found in the Reports of the State Superintendent. The six reports which cover his administration are in striking contrast to most official documents. They were intended to be read. Other superintendents addressed to a bored legislature their labored compilations of statistics and suggestions. Mr. Gregory's reports are forceful appeals to everyone, legislator, teacher, or citizen, who could be arounded to the educational needs of Michigan. Together they form a permanently valuable work on educational principle and practice. They were recognized by educators generally as a distinguished contribution to the literature of school problems.

It is worth noting that these reports were published in full in the *Michigan Journal of Education* which went to every school district and to the homes of thoughtful educators throughout the state. Mr. Gregory's predecessor said he was deterred from contributing officially to the *Journal* by the difficulties of proofreading. Mr. Gregory

saw in the *Journal* the means of a publicity which would place him in touching with teachers and public throughout the state. It is more accurate to say that he utilized the *Journal* than that he patronized it.

The means which he suggests are six: (1) clean and appropriate surroundings (2) adequate play grounds, (3) supervised play, (4) teachers of sound moral character, (5) good government in the schools, and (6) discussion of the ideals and examples supplied by historical and literary studies. "Besides all the unconscious teachings, there are direct and conscious instructions in morals which ought to find a place among the daily exercises of the schools. Not, however in the form of homilies on the several virtues, or set lectures against vice; but rather illustrative stories from history and experience in which virtue and goodness shall shine out in human action."

The Report for 1863 contains, in addition to the usual topics, an interesting defence of endowed and denominational colleges as a supplement to state education. The report for 1863 contains a characteristic discussion of school government. School government, Dr. Gregory states in closing, after a wise and detailed discussion of its principles and methods, must be adapted to the ages and dispositions of the pupils. But its aim must always be self government. "All the methods and rules of government should be chos-

en with reference to their educating influence, that being counted as wisest and best which secures not merely the readiest obedience but the best final effect. Not what will conquer merely, but what will correct and cultivate, should be the question. Since school government seeks to educate its pupils to self-government, it should endeavor to lift them from the obedience yielded to external restraint to that which springs from the inward impulse to duty, and should never count its work as fully done, until they are able and willing to govern themselves and live law-abiding lives."

The 1864 Report opens with a series of citations from great soldiers and statesmen on the importance of education to the state. There was need that this larger aspect of education be kept before the people. Already as the war drew to a close the inevitable reaction from the moral exaltation of danger and sacrifice was beginning to be felt.

Superintendent Gregory makes his valediction to the legislature a summing up of the principal demands which he had repeatedly laid before them and which they had persistently disregarded: (1) the appointment of county superintendents, (2) the inauguration of the township school system in place of the district system, (3) a more equitable and efficient apportionment of the mill tax, (4) the provision of additional facilities for

the training of teachers by the establishment of supervised normal classes in various institutions throughout the state, (5) a regular and sufficient provision for the maintenance and increase of district libraries. He admonishes the legislature for its delays in acting upon such essential demands. "I have repeatedly urged (these) important and much needed reforms in the school system of the state. Why these reforms have not been made it is difficult to see. Demanded in many cases by the voice of the people, approved by all sound educational authorities, tested and found valuable in other states, ably urged with sound and unanswered arguments, they have been rejected by our legislature without one sound objection being urged against them, and sometimes on pretenses as frivolous as they were foreign. Each succeeding year has made these reforms more necessary and important, and I here declare my earnest belief that this Legislature is bound by all the highest considerations of public safety and well-being to make at once these long sought and much needed changes in our school system."

In addition to these amendments of the school system, there must be, he reiterates, a public opinion awake to the needs of education. He summarizes once more, somewhat sternly, the principles with which he had been seeking to indoctrinate the state since the first issue of the *Journal*

of *Education*. That these should need repetition was a melancholy comment on the public temper of Michigan. With a sincere and kindly tribute to the teachers of the state who had been his loyal fellow workers, John Milton Gregory closes his last official Report.

In these Reports it was evidently the writer's plan to leave on record a detailed statement of his policies and methods for improving the Michigan schools. The future proved that his contribution to the state of Michigan was threefold: the stimulus of his energetic idealism, made effective by a winning personality and a gift of vigorous expression; a thorough, efficient and constructive administration of the schools; a careful analysis of needs and formulation of policy by an educator of practical experience and vision. The third contribution was not the least. These Reports which contemporary legislators were so hesitant in accepting became the basis of subsequent reforms. His successors, appreciating the wisdom of his demands, reiterated them; and almost without exception the measures he advocated have been adopted. (1)

(1) Other addresses belonging to this period which have been preserved are as follows: "An Address on Social Education;" "The Progress of Education;" "Normal Graduation Address;" two other commencement addresses of uncertain date; "Address to the National Teachers' Association on 'Higher Aspects of Education;'" Address at Port Huron, May 9, 1862 "On Graded Schools;" Address to Michigan Teachers' Association, on "Colleges and Common Schools;" Address at the rededication of the Ypsilanti Normal School, "The Relation of Normal Schools to the Public Schools;" "Lecture on Moral Education" (1860); et al.

In addition to the official Reports and the routine labors of Teachers' Institutes Superintendent Gregory presented his educational doctrines to the Michigan public in innumerable articles and lectures. Many of these have been preserved which are worthy of detailed comment, if space permitted. It is perhaps rather unfortunate to adduce the printed record as an illustration of the method of a colorful and vivid speaker. Oratory is an art distinct from prose literature. The orator, reduced to cold type, must almost necessarily seem over-generalized in matter and florid in manner.

One of these addresses may serve for all, as an illustration of Mr. Gregory's oratorical method. His "Address before the American Institute of Instruction" (1863) is typical. The subject is "The Problem of Education, as comprehended under the threefold relationship of man to nature, to society, and to God." Here is Superintendent Gregory's confession of faith in regard to education. "This" he says in summary "is the triple problem of education: (1) to train the infant heir of nature and truth up to his inheritance of knowledge and power; (2) to rear the child citizen up for society and the world of mankind; (3) to train man for God. Educated under the first statement he learns to take care of himself; under the second he is taught to act also for society and his fellow men; under the third he rises

to full grandeur of soul and becomes a co-worker with Deity, in plans whose wide sweep embraces the universal well-being and blends the brief and fragmentary histories of earth with the mighty biography of God." (1).

To Professor D'Ooge of the University of Michigan we are indebted for the admirable summary of John Milton Gregory's contribution to the Michigan school system from which the following extract is taken:

"When Dr. Gregory entered upon the duties of his office the educational system of Michigan was still in a plastic state and needed a molding hand. Ira Mayhew, who preceded him in office only a few years, dedicated the first Union Schoolhouse in the State, and helped to organize the first public School in the Upper Peninsula. The line of cleavage between the common primary and the grade schools had not yet been drawn.

"The first extended discussion of a course of instruction for graded schools in any official docu-

(1) The school curriculum which Superintendent Gregory offers in the Reports of 1861 and 1862 was adopted practically without change by the Association of City Superintendents in their Report for 1876. In 1867 the system of county superintendents was adopted by the legislature. In 1879 Michigan University established a chair of "The Science and Art of Teaching." In 1893 the legislature passed an act authorizing the Board of Education to subsidize colleges offering a satisfactory normal course. In 1870 the school law was amended to allow districts to vote a tax in support of school libraries. Since then more adequate provision for the support and regulation of school libraries has been made. (Putnam, "Primary and Secondary Public Education in Michigan," pp. 182 f.)

ment is found in Superintendent Gregory's Report for 1861. Dr. Gregory was the first man in this country to propose a regular course of studies for the primary and rural schools. The principles he laid down for organizing a course of study are those that are now generally accepted but were then unrecognized or if known were not applied. Without going into details let me state them in his own words: (1) Adaptation to the successive stages in the mental growth of the child. 'To address instruction to a faculty not yet developed,' he says, 'is as idle as to give beefsteak to a child that has no teeth, or to provide a razor for a youth whose beard is not yet grown.' (2) Orderly progression. 'Just as the height of a mountain can be reached only by travelling over its lowest ascents, so facts and truths lie as it were, one above another; and to reach the height of science one must surmount patiently the lower and elementary principles. No rule is more frequently violated in the arrangement of studies than this. (3) Studies should be chosen and arranged with reference to their character-building power.' On this point Dr. Gregory is especially emphatic and eloquent. He had not discovered, or if he had, he had certainly not embraced the erroneous doctrine heralded a few years ago by a wise man from the East that one study is just as good as another provided it is rightly pursued. 'It should be remembered,'

he says, 'that while all knowledge on whatever subject appeals to the intellect and requires thought yet all knowledge does not equally or similarly arouse the feelings and affect the heart.'

"Again, he says, 'these influences of different branches of knowledge on character have been almost entirely ignored in the choice of our school studies.' (He apparently believes that there is a difference between the effect produced upon the character of the student between the study of bugs and stones and that of Plato and Milton.) The fourth principle that underlies the organizing of a course of study is the practical aim, i. e., to fit the student for the station he is to occupy and the calling he is to pursue. The day of manual training and nature study had not yet come but was forecast by this educator of wide vision. His pleas for object lessons and nature study is one of the earliest heralds of this reform. Dr. Gregory's six annual reports, making an aggregate of over 400 octavo pages, so far from being mere compilations of dry statistics, are documents of the first importance in the history of education, and exerted great influence on the public opinion of the Commonwealth. In reading these Reports I have been impressed by the varied and multiform interests that enlisted his efforts. No department of education escaped his attention, and no improvement of method failed to secure his enthusiastic support. Many

later reforms were anticipated by him. Dr. Gregory was in sympathy with all plans that promised the advance and improvement of education. He was no faddist, but he was a wise leader and a sane reformer. 'The learning of a hundred years ago,' he says, 'is but the alphabet of to-day, and he who would understand the age in which he lives and not be a poor untutored foreigner by his own fireside must keep abreast of the march of human thought.'

For the record of Mr. Gregory's private life during the years of his superintendency we turn again to the diary.

"July 6, 1861. Thirty-nine years old. The last year of my life has abounded more perhaps in health and happiness than has been my usual lot. My official labors have been severe and sometimes exhausting but not painful or unwelcome. I was reëlected in the Fall by large majorities, though not larger than several others on the state ticket. My wife has been absent the last five months of the year to water-cures at Cleveland and Glen Haven and much more care of the children has fallen on me than usual. The religious history of the year shows no remarkable variations, though I fear that there has been less life and growth than in some previous years.

"1862. July 6. Forty years of life are past. The year like all that went before it brought its toils and triumphs. I have good reason to be

satisfied with the public approval that has been expressed for my labors. A general desire has been manifested for my renomination this fall, and it seems likely to be brought about unless I should sooner be nominated as member of Congress, of which there is now much talk. While I am not entirely free from the promptings of ambition nor insensible to the honor of a new office, I am in considerable doubt as to the path of duty or of sound personal policy. My deep interest in national affairs and in the great questions likely to grow out of this great rebellion of the slaveholding states, strongly incline me to Congress; but the reflection that my experience and knowledge in the educational work made it probable that I can do the country most service in my present place causes me to hesitate. I am conscious of many and mixed motives, but I trust I shall be enabled to hold true to duty and to God. I know not how soon my earthly career may be closed, but I earnestly desire to be found at my post laboring for truth and righteousness, for God and humanity. My family are growing up and heavier responsibilities crowd upon me. Two daughters and two sons are to be so reared that they may live happy and respectable and useful lives may come into society well intentioned and well ordered citizens. I have little leisure for home duties, but am teaching Mary Latin and Nelly reading occasionally. My health seems as

good as ever, but age is robbing me of some of the spring and lightness of former years and I have been obliged to purchase spectacles for my failing sight. Thus old age begins to show its approaches.

“January 1, 1863. Gratia Dei, I am yet alive. The year of war has been also a year of labors and anxieties. Having failed to receive the nomination for Congress after receiving next to the highest vote in the convention, I was renominated for Superintendent and was elected by the largest majority on the State ticket.

“July 6, 1863. I am, today, forty-one years old, and in accordance with my custom of many years I write to-day the record of my life. At the outset of a new year and a new volume, let me confess the goodness of God to whom I owe all I am and all I enjoy. The hand of a Higher Power has been so evident to me in the unforeseen career I have been led through that I have been sometimes tempted to regard myself as especially a child of Providence, and the natural care for my future has not infrequently been swallowed up in a feeling of curiosity as to where God would next lead me. I have always in the great turning points prayed, ‘Choose Thou my lot and inheritance for me.’

“The first day of last January entered upon my third term as Supt. of Pub. Inst. And spent a considerable portion of the winter at Lansing

seeking to secure some legislation for the interests of education. In the Spring I held a series of six Institutes, the severe labors of which much exhausted my strength and induced an attack or two of ague. Indeed my health has begun to yield under the severe efforts which I have allowed myself to make. This summer with an occasional trip to some point to give a lecture or visit a college, I am abiding at home, reading, writing and working—gathering up a store of strength for the Fall work.

“The continued ill health of my wife (now on a visit to her father, residing in Cleveland) throws much of the care of our four children on my hands. Their varied dispositions give me some anxiety and cost me much study. M. is a good, well-meaning girl, conscientious and thoughtful, fond of reading and ambitious in study; but she is exceedingly nervous and excitable. She seems open to conviction, is tender under appeals to her conscience and affections, but irascible and impatient under reproof. I have much hopes of her, but must study more carefully a proper course of education for her. H., now seven years old, is less nervous and active, but not quite as mature as M. was at her age. She is of a candid temper, but with a strong will verging towards obstinacy. She loves reading and shows sufficient quickness of mind. She is not demonstrative, but affectionate to her friends. Rightly trained she

will grow to be a good and useful woman. The little boys are too young to exhibit very fully their characters, but I am seeking to study them with care. May God give me wisdom to train them for his service.

“I have no plans for the future but to do my duties as they come as thoroughly as I can. The great war still raging in our land has deeply affected my heart, and I have felt strong inclinations to enter the service but home duties have prevented.”

The last sentence is significant. Obviously Mr. Gregory was disqualified from active military service for three sufficient reasons—his frail health, the responsibility of an invalid wife and four small children, and his unquestionably greater value to the state in the important public office he held. But it is evident from private letters and reminiscence that he chafed under the restriction. His eldest daughter records her childish memories of this period: “Father had many brilliant friends among the young teachers and lawyers of Michigan. My understanding is that they said to him that if he would go to the war they would raise a regiment for him among these young men and make it a picked regiment. He was most anxious to go. Many a time when father went down town we were sure he would come home and tell us he had enlisted. But he dared not do it and leave his wife and little chil-

dren unprovided for. So he did all he could in other ways."

The "other way" in which Mr. Gregory most directly served the cause for which he longed to fight was through his rare gift of inspiring audiences. One of his hearers records an impression retained for nearly sixty years: "My recollection of Dr. Gregory goes back to my student days, and I well recall his strong personality. A man of small stature, compactly built, with flashing dark eyes, in his quick and forceful movement indicating the alertness of his mind, the earnestness of his purpose, and a certain intensity of nature that came prominently into view in a public address. I can still hear his voice eloquently pleading for the defense of the integrity of our nation and the protection of our freedom when the news of the fall of Fort Sumter burst upon us one peaceful Sunday morning, as we were assembling for public worship in the church whose vacant pulpit he was temporarily supplying."*

Mss. notes for two of these war speeches have been preserved. The first is a sermon on the text "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." The theme is the importance of ideological considerations in

*D'Ooge, Address at University of Illinois, June 1914.

the war, and the need of spiritual as well as material preparedness if there is to be any permanent accomplishment. The second is an address before some literary association. The speaker turns from the subject assigned him with the words "Gentlemen, I speak to the hour; allow me to speak for the hour!", proceeds to a discussion of the temper of the nation at war. The address is curiously applicable to a later day. Although the style is perhaps suited to an age more oratorical than ours, the observations and aspirations suggest 1917 as well as 1861. "How have our peoples changed in these few memorable weeks! How has the great soul of our people risen, under the touch of war's Ithuriel spear, from the squat attitudes of commerce, into the stalwart height of a liberty-loving nation. The splendid kindlings of patriotism have melted the incrustations with which a long and peaceful prosperity had encased the national mind and manners, as fire melts wax. The long silent love of country has awakened with the shout of a Sampson and burst as bands of tow the green withes with which partizan politics had bound it. And with the love of country, how all heroic qualities have revived among us! How has the secret unbelief in heroes which marked our flunk-eyish, cent-per-cent times—the sneering contempt for soldiers and the open abhorrence of war as a most barbarous and nearly obsolete mode of

settling national disputes—how have all these vanished before the stern teachings of these few days! We all believe in heroism now; for have we not seen it?—And war has come to wear a new and nobler look in our beliefs. It is the needful forthputting of a nation's physical forces to push back the hands of those who would destroy its government and disturb its peace—it is human society rising in its divine right to defend the great interests committed to its care—it is the solemn act of the Powers that, existing by ordination of God and for the highest good of mankind, 'bear not the sword in vain.' And shall we not also henceforth be a more earnest nation, worshipping Mammon less and loving our country and liberty more? Already men are learning to take joyfully the despoiling of their goods for their country's and for liberty's sake. With this deeper love of our country and of freedom—with this revivification of the patriotism and true heroism of the people shall there not come also a deeper reverence for humanity itself, for its grander and higher interests? Shall not common peril met by a common defense fill us with a more generous sympathy with our kind? And will not our evident dependence upon the co-operation of others in society and the truth now so palpably forced upon us that the safety and freedom of the individual man is to be found only in the freedom of society—will not all this

root out some of the too rampant individualism among us and make room in our hearts for a higher regard for social virtue and social well-being? It is the hour of destiny. American liberty is on trial. The Republic has reached its grandest crisis. Will it pass in safety?"

CHAPTER V

DURING Superintendent Gregory's third term several events occurred to suggest that his next form of leadership would be the presidency of some higher educational institution. In 1863 he writes in the diary: "Two incidents seem to foreshadow a possible change in my field of work ere many years. 1st. The Regents in removing Dr. Tappan from the University presidency last month talked (as one of them told me) of appointing me to fill the place, but without giving me a professorship. 2nd. I am told by Professor Boise that my name is now prominently mentioned for the presidency of Chicago University and that it will probably be offered me.

My own most prominent inclination has been to return to the teacher's chair, and these incidents look as if Providence was leading that way."

The next entries are a record of the change foreshadowed here.

"Feb. 13, 1864. Wrote to Rev. Haskell declining positively the presidency of Kalamazoo College, which has been indirectly tendered me several times within the past three months, though not formally, by the Trustees. They are to meet next Tuesday, and wish to proceed then to an election. There is much in the position that would be attractive to me, and especially would the work

be congenial, but I am not yet through my work in my present office (to which I am assured of a reëlection if I should desire it) and the present prospect of the College promises more anxiety and doubtful toil than I feel quite prepared to assume, and finally I fear my domestic peace would not be promoted by such a position. The last summer and autumn my name was before the friends of Chicago University and of Madison University, without any agency of mine, for the Presidency in each; but the vacancy did not occur in either case, and I know not what would have been the result. Let God choose my lot and inheritance for me! and may I be willing to work in any place without unduly aspiring and without shrinking from great toils.

April 27, '64. Received at 12 o'clock M a telegram from Rev. S. Haskell of Kalamazoo asking if I would be at home in the evening. I replied affirmatively, and in the evening Mr. H. appeared accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Cornelius and the Rev. Mr. Mather of Pontiac. They were joined afterward by Professors Olney and Curtis. Messers. Haskell and Mather informed me that in the Trustee meeting this morning at Kalamazoo I had been elected President of the college and a subscription had been started to raise a salary of \$1500 a year for five years for the president. Out of 14 trustees present at the meeting ten had voted for me, and the others,

among whom was Dr. Stone, the late president, believing that it was unwise to proceed to an election while the finances were thus embarrassed, voted blank tickets, expressing however, as I was informed, the utmost confidence and good will towards myself. This election took me by surprise, as I had written to Prof. Clark within a fortnight in reply to a letter from him, that I could not accept the place. The reasons urged for this election were 1st the opinions of the financial committee who counted my election essential to their plans; and 2d the very general and emphatic desire of brethren throughout the state that I should be appointed to the place. The committee in behalf of the Trustees urged that my position and wide acquaintance and reputation earned in my present position gave me a vantage no other man possessed and that I owed it to give these advantages to the cause of Christian learning in this college.

“It seems evident at present that my own personal interests lie in another direction. My office seems open to me for at least another term and my best work yet remains undone till I have secured the reforms needed in the school system. Beyond this, there seems a good probability that an opening equally favorable with this will occur for me in some other college. My homestead is yearly growing pleasanter and more valuable. I have much to lose and the gain is uncertain. On

the other side, the change would open to me a field of more direct Christian effort. I should be at liberty to give my whole influence unreservedly for Christian learning. The work would be congenial, and beneficial to me, and if successful, I should help to establish on a permanent basis an institution for coming ages of good. May God show me his divine will in this matter.

“Sunday, January 1st, 1864, Kalamazoo. Having omitted my usual birthday entry, I have much to write. It will cost me some effort to write in clear and impartial narrative events so crowded and exciting. The question of my acceptance of the presidency of the college continued to be pressed upon me during the months of May and June by the friends of the college both in the state and out of it. On the other hand Dr. and Mrs. Stone wrote me many letters charging gross conspiracy and wrong on the part of several of those who were most active in soliciting my acceptance. The Doctor seemed finally to assume this position: viz., a conspiracy had been made to compel his resignation; this conspiracy had succeeded so far as to force him to resign in order to allow the trustees to vindicate him and condemn them. If he was not restored the conspiracy triumphed and the trustees became a party to the wrong. This view of the Doctor, urged with great and violent earnestness, added to the reluctance I before felt to accept the place and

would have prevailed but for the following reasons: 1st. Neither myself nor others, wise and impartial men, could see any evidence of a conspiracy such as was charged. There was no adequate motive shown for such conspiracy, and the well known Christian character and long tried integrity of the chief men charged with conspiracy forbade any belief in their guilt. That they desired the Doctor's resignation was not denied, and sufficient reason for that desire was shown in the utter financial ruin that impended over the college, and in the opinions they had adopted of the Doctor's want of discipline in college management. 2d. The most liberal and able friends of the college seemed to think it impossible to rally financially unless I would accept the Presidency. 3d. It was evident to all, even to his own friends, that Dr. Stone could not be restored, and that some new man must take the place. C. H. Walker, the Doctor's brother-in-law, and legal counsellor, said this to me, and stated that if he were a trustee, he would urge my acceptance. 4th. In the utterly embarrassed state of the finances, the debt nearly equalling the property, and the interest eating up the entire income, it seemed impossible to get a competent man from abroad, even if the friends of the college could be rallied around a stranger at once.

"For these and some other reasons I hesitated to decline the place though strongly inclined to

do so. On the nineteenth of June the annual meeting of the trustees was held, and I was elected president of the Board. The report of the special committee on finances having been made, and no adequate provision having been devised, in my estimation for the payment of the college debts (which had been my ultimatum as to conditions of acceptance) I declined the place, as I supposed, finally. But in a movement immediately inaugurated to pay the debt, I was solicited by one of the trustees who sent a little note to me while in the chair, to make a conditional acceptance, which without due reflection and perhaps unwisely I did. The condition was the same as that I had before proposed, the payment of the debt.

“During the next two or three months I worked heartily with others to raise \$30,000 to pay the debt and to provide for current expenses for the year. This effort was successful, and on the 20th day of September I delivered my inaugural address and assumed the duties of the presidency. In July I declined in a published letter the renomination for the superintendency as incompatible with my new duties.

“One term of my college service has passed. It has not proved unpleasant nor wholly unsuccessful. But the future I leave with Providence, contented alike either to leave or stay as God shall direct.”

Little need be added to the account given in the diary. The situation upon which Mr. Gregory entered was indeed critical. Kalamazoo was one of the oldest colleges in the state. Its charter was granted in 1833. Now, after thirty years of creditable work, the vicious circle of debt, inefficient management, and discontented factions within and without had brought matters to such a pass that there was serious talk of abandoning the college altogether. The precise history of the factional disputes in which the college was involved and of its financial difficulties is at this time irrelevant. President Gregory's contribution to the college was not the disentanglement of a hopelessly involved situation, but an entirely new start. He was, as the friends of the college felt, the one man upon whom all parties could agree and who could reinspire the public confidence which had been forfeited. His wide reputation as an educator and as a man of unquestionable character, his well known tact, firmness, and patience in trying situations were the one hope of the college. The event justified Kalamazoo's confidence. Although President Gregory remained with them only three years, his administration lifted the college from its difficulties to a career of renewed usefulness.

Clearly it was for the good of the college that Mr. Gregory should go there. For himself the advantage was doubtful. He was asked to leave

an important public office where he had still further constructive work in prospect to take charge of a situation of great difficulty and unpleasantness. It is evident from the diary records that his acceptance was against his own inclination, almost against his own judgment. The determining motive was evidently his belief in the usefulness of the college endowed under church influence. A belief that influenced so important a decision merits analysis.

During the fifteen years from the time John Milton Gregory came to Michigan as a teacher to his resignation from the Superintendency it is evident that he had articulated a very definite philosophy of education. His was a singularly lucid mind, a mind that habitually determined action by reference to well digested principles. In his career as an educator he did nothing at random or from the promptings of personal ambition. Without understanding of his educational philosophy we must miss the significance of his life.

His first great axiom was, obviously, that the ultimate purpose of education is the development of character and personality. The educating of the Higher Manhood, the citizen of the Just Republic, was for him the end to which all lesser purposes were but means. His second axiom was that for this end all needful means must be utilized. Purely intellectual training will not suf-

fice; man is not a pure intellect. The vocational training which looks only to economic usefulness and prosperity will not suffice; man does not live by bread alone. To these, essential as they are, must be added another factor, moral and religious education, the training of will, imagination, and emotion. Mr. Gregory stood decisively against the opinion that such matters must be left to uncultivated growth, that character will be an inevitable by-product of intellectual discipline and economic efficiency.

It is characteristic of Mr. Gregory that he did not confine himself to generalizations on the subject of moral and religious education. As a practical educator he had definite suggestions to offer as to method.

It will be remembered that the Superintendent's Report for 1861 offered a specific program for moral and religious education. Mere talk—ethical sermonettes and dogmatic instructions—he knew were valueless. He saw more clearly than even his opponents the futility of the perfunctory bible readings and devotional exercises which contented many advocates of religious education. He desired rather the deliberate shaping of the whole school life to the upbuilding of character, the utilization of the existing curriculum (especially in the study of history and literature) for the presentation of worthy ideals; and, as a means to this, the development of a body of teachers who

should perceive the moral and spiritual significance of all they taught.

The responsibility for such education Mr. Gregory did not place upon the schools alone. He believed strongly in the church as the great institution for the promotion of social and individual righteousness. Hence he deemed it necessary that the church should ally itself with the schools.

No man was ever more free from sectarianism. We have already noted his appeals for church unity, his rebuke of denominational divisions as direct disobedience to the divine commands. It was always the Church as an entity including all churches that he wished to see working with and through the schools. But if he was free from sectarian bias, he was also free from the sectarian bogey that obsessed so many of his contemporaries, both churchmen and anticlericals. We have seen that as editor and Superintendent he wrote in support of church-endowed colleges as valuable supplements to state education.

Such were the principles from which Mr. Gregory concluded that to restore a college such as Kalamazoo to its former usefulness was an undertaking of the first importance, worthy the sacrifice of his own career.

President Gregory's inaugural address strikes a significant note. The subject is **The Right and**

Duty of Christianity to Educate. The following passages may indicate the line of thought:

President Gregory reiterates a former statement that there are three parties having natural rights, interests, and responsibility in the education of the young; parents, the child himself, and society. It is as the interpreter of the highest meaning of society, of the Spirit which animates the social organism, that Christianity bases its first assertion of responsibility for the education of future citizens. "Christianity," he says, "co-works with the State for whatever is good and valuable to society now, and when the State pauses in its work, Christianity goes on to seek higher and grander results, aiming not merely at an outward conformity with law and order, but seeking to produce inward rectitude and fraternity of heart. Whatever argument lies against the educational work of Christianity lies also against that of the State. Not, however as antagonistic or rival forces would I present Christianity and the State, but as co-operating agencies in the same common work—the well-being of Society and of men."

But there is a further consideration. "Mutually co-working with all parties—with the parent, the child, and society—welcoming and co-operating with the State in all that the State can be permitted to do, prompting the parent to higher solicitude, and the child to nobler aspirations

and more diligence, and stimulating society to a juster regard for public virtue and public intelligence, Christianity yet claims for itself a higher field of educational work. This is the realm of the religious nature in man. If the religious element in the human soul be, as it certainly is, a constituent part of man, then no education can be complete that does not provide for its full development. As well tune a harp and leave its main chord unstrung, as well build an arch and leave its key-stone unset, as think fully to educate a man and offer no culture to this great controlling and crowning element in his nature."

The objection that Christian education tends to sectarian domination is considered. "Colleges tend to break down rather than foster the spirit of sect. Bigotry is the vice of the ignorant and uncultured, not of the truly learned and educated. It is not their Sectarianism but their Christianity that prompts Christian denominations to build great institutions. Divisions spring from ignorance, or from narrow knowledge; colleges create and diffuse light, and thus tend to union and peace."

The then much discussed question of the relation of science to religion President Gregory touched upon only in passing. For him its absurdity was apparent. "It is no arrogant nor unfounded claim to say that Christian ideas lie

at the bottom and constitute the very roots of that magnificent outgrowth of thought and truth which we call modern science. The faith that broke the bondage of old superstitions, and lifted the soul into a conscious communion with the eternal, unchained human thought and bade it roam untrammelled through the words and works of God. And shall Christianity now forsake the child she has nourished into such wonderful growth and power? Shall the fruitful ideas of the spiritual dignity and duties of the human soul be banished from our great centers of science, and learning be released from the powerful conservatism of the great doctrines of the being and government of God?—I do not urge here the danger of allowing science to become unchristian by having no longer any great Christian schools,—I do not choose to put Christianity on the defensive. It is not its proper or native attitude. It comes to earth not to save itself but to save others. It does not stand, in my esteem, simply as a system of faith seeking to defend and logically establish its doctrines, but as a beneficent power working to bless mankind.”

He concludes, “And if to science, so also to civilization, is Christian education essential. The grand elements of modern civilization are found not in the ideas of Plato and Aristotle but in the ideas of Jesus of Nazareth. Human brotherhood—the inalienable and equal rights of mankind—

the sole sovereignty of God, and the sole accountability of man to God for his religious opinions—the duty of doing to others as we would be done by,—all these are Christian ideas, and they lie at the very center of our Christian civilization. Strike these out from the popular mind and heart, and how speedily should we return to the old barbarism from which all its science could not save ancient Greece. And how shall these ideas continue current in the nation's life, when they are no longer plainly recognized in the nation's schools? Even if the adult world could hear the gospel and be exhorted to obedience without further education, childhood must have instruction and culture to prepare it for intelligent belief; it must be trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.”

This inaugural address was delivered under somewhat ominous conditions. Most of the people of the town ostentatiously avoided the occasion. But the winning personality of the new president speedily dissolved local hostility. The address was published, and received with enthusiastic appreciation by a wider audience throughout the state.*

President Gregory's first year at Kalamazoo was marked by the entrance of an exceptionally

*The review in the *Michigan Teacher* is typical of editorial comment. “For its sound philosophy, earnest Christian spirit, and vigorous style this deserves to rank among the first class of educational addresses.”

large freshman class. Evidently the college had regained the confidence of those who believed in church endowed education.

With characteristic practicality President Gregory made it a condition of his acceptance that the college should be free from debt and established on a sound financial basis. During the three years of his administration he labored unceasingly to secure for the college an endowment which would afford opportunity for growth. There have been preserved a considerable number of his speeches and articles at this time on the responsibility of rich men to administer their wealth for the public good. The tone is significant. In his inaugural address he insisted that church and state alike derive their educational funds from the public, the difference between voluntary gift and tax being altogether a minor one. Indeed, he addresses rich churchmen somewhat in the matter-of-fact tone of the tax collector; certainly with as little sycophancy. John Milton Gregory never sentimentalized money. It was to him a tool, nothing more. When it was needed for the work in hand, he demanded it with an almost naive assurance that was surprisingly effective. The explanation of his impersonal attitude toward wealth is simple. To an essentially religious nature the rights of individual ownership are of altogether minor significance compared with the basic principle that the

man and all he owns belong without reservation to God. The tax President Gregory so summarily levied on the Michigan churches was duly paid. Kalamazoo College received contributions varying in amount from the legacy of Judge Smith to the fifty-cent contributions of Sunday school children in support of a "children's professorship."

Within the college President Gregory's efforts were directed to the building up of an able and scholarly faculty, the restoration of discipline and good feeling in all departments, and the establishment of a system of student government. His one characteristic and noteworthy innovation was the introduction of a normal course designed to bring the college into effective connection with the public school system.

To an alumnus of Dr. Nott the function of a college president could never be purely administrative. President Gregory resumed with enthusiasm his work in the class room. In the catalog his name appears as Professor of Moral and Mental Philosophy (what we should now call philosophy and ethics). Here, as later at the University of Illinois, his classes were eagerly looked forward to by underclassmen as the great event of senior year. But although he often quoted with approval the saying of Dr. Arnold that "he governed Rugby through the Senior class," President Gregory's personal contact with students

was not confined to the classroom. It would be nearer the truth to say that President Gregory governed the student body at Kalamazoo and later at Illinois through his chapel talks. These were direct and informal addresses ranging over every topic of current interest. We shall consider them more fully in a later chapter. Suffice it to say now that this daily contact with the entire student body was always a characteristic feature of John Milton Gregory's presidency. To his alumni fifty years later these are among the most valued memories of college life.

President Gregory's activities outside the college we must pass over briefly. As we shall see from the diary, during the three years at Kalamazoo he practically completed two books, although their publication was deferred until a later period. He was so much in demand as a lecturer before various educational gatherings that his limited strength was often taxed to the uttermost. There is space to comment on only one of the addresses belonging to this period. In February 1866 President Gregory spoke to the State Teachers' Association on the Life and Character of Dr. Francis Wayland, the late president of Brown University. The address was noteworthy. Francis Wayland and John Milton Gregory had been students together under President Nott at Union. Between the two men there was a deep intellectual sympathy. One

of President Gregory's first appointments at Kalamazoo was H. L. Wayland, the son of Francis Wayland, who for many years ably filled the chair of Greek literature. In his address on Dr. Wayland President Gregory has his favorite theme, the generous and discerning appreciation of a great man. It is noteworthy that he selects for special emphasis Dr. Wayland's work in broadening the old classical education, his perception of the "lack of adaptation of the college curriculum to the real and vital wants of the age."

This address the *Michigan Teacher* reports as follows: "After a brief statement of the principal events in Dr. Wayland's history Mr. Gregory spoke somewhat at length of his method of teaching and of his character as an educator. When he drew so vivid a picture of this great man wearing himself out before his time by reason of his ceaseless activity, one could not but think of the excessive labors which were making such great and constant requisition upon the health and strength of the speaker. Two influences were at work upon the minds and hearts of those who listened to the address—the persistent industry of Dr. Wayland and the moral sublimity of his character; and the example of the speaker himself, who, though oppressed with care and enfeebled in health, could not forego this opportunity to speak words of counsel and encouragement to the teachers of the state, and

to contribute to the prosperity and usefulness of our Association, of which he has long been the brightest ornament and the most valued friend."

Besides many addresses like the foregoing and a number of able articles in the *Michigan Teacher* (the successor to the *Michigan Journal of Education*) President Gregory found time to be to the State Teachers' Association a beloved and revered friend and counsellor. The appreciation of the Association found expression in the presentation of a handsome silver set of eleven pieces bearing the inscription "Presented to the Honorable John Milton Gregory by the Normal Schools and Teachers of Michigan." President Gregory was deeply touched by the gift, representing as it did loving sacrifice on the part of men and women who could ill afford so expensive a token of regard.

A further mark of the esteem in which the educational world held President Gregory was the conferring of the honorary degree of LL. D. The *Michigan Teacher* reports as follows: "The Hon. John Milton Gregory has received the honorary title of LL. D from Madison University. No man in our country has more richly deserved the honor, and the institution that bestowed it has done credit to itself in the act. The precept 'honor to whom honor is due' was never more worthily observed."

The personal history of these three years is

preserved for us in the diary. "*January 1, 1864.* One term of my college service has passed. It has not proved unpleasant, nor wholly unsuccessful. But my wife still feels unreconciled and the future I leave with Providence contented alike to leave or stay as God shall direct.

"Pecuniarily Providence has blessed me. I subscribed \$500 towards the college debt, and God sent me a purchaser for my place who paid me \$6,000 for the same. I purchased again in Kalamazoo for \$4,000. Thus my subscription was met and my removal made easy.

"September the ninth a little son was born to us, adding a fifth one to our children. Our children are yearly becoming a source of greater comfort to us. M. is overcoming the faults of her childhood and is a most affectionate and helpful daughter. She has spent part of the autumn in the family of Professor Bengel learning to speak German. H. and A. are showing a strong fondness for books and even our little J. is learning to read.

"The future lies shrouded in uncertainty. I do not seek to penetrate its veil, for I am prepared to accept whatever God appoints.

"*July 6, 1865.* I am today forty-three years old. My hair begins to be sprinkled with gray; I have worn spectacles for more than a year, and I am by other signs admonished of the approach of old age. Thanks be to God, I have enjoyed

more of health than my childhood promised, and have been permitted to do a great deal of hard work, not wholly without benefit, I trust, to my fellow men. Let me not forget God's great mercies in the midst of my bitter, bitter trials. On the twentieth day of May last my little Johnny died of a brain disease, after an illness of three weeks. I must take the earliest opportunity to resign my position here. I have informed the trustees of my desire to be released as early as practicable from my place. Whither I shall next turn is more than I know. May God guide me.

"July 6, 1866. Forty four years have gone over in the lines of the past since my mother welcomed me to her arms. Swifter and swifter the years pass. This phenomenon is singular though not unaccountable. In childhood we are looking to the future and our impatience makes its approach seem slow. In manhood we become more and more absorbed in the present interests and the time seems too short for our plans. It is a fear with me that as I grow older my heart may grow harder and my devotion to right and duty less. The sensibilities must naturally grow feebler. Would that my active principles might grow stronger in right and religion. The year has been much happier than the preceding one. My dear wife has been in better health and spirits. The future looks brighter.

"A little daughter was born to us early in the

morning of January 22, a sweet little child that wins the hearts of all. May she live to bless our old age and serve God.

"The college work has prospered reasonably and the prospects look favorable. It seems now more probable that I shall remain here somewhat permanently, though I would willingly resign a labor whose difficulties are so many and so hard to endure. God is in it, and I can well afford to stay content as long as He remains with us. In May my father-in-law, Charles H. Gregory, died in Cleveland, O., closing a life which had had great influence over mine and many others.

"The year has been one of much financial difficulty, my salary of \$1500 falling short of my expenditures.

"*January 1, 1867.* The last half year has been exceedingly busy. In the summer vacation I supplied for several weeks the pulpit of the First Baptist Church, Chicago, in the absence of their pastor, Rev. Dr. Evarts. At the same time I put my historical chart, "The Map of Time," into the hands of publishers and undertook the preparation of a handbook to accompany it. The latter work which is still unfinished has cost me much more work than I anticipated. There is now a prospect of my receiving considerable returns for my work. I also wrote the past Autumn a series of articles on the "Seven Laws of

Teaching" for which I received \$40, and which I propose to rewrite as a book. I made an engagement to contribute a few articles for the *Chicago Republican* at \$10, each, and accepted the appointment of Associate Editor of the *Baptist Quarterly*, agreeing to furnish one article for which I am to receive \$100. The editorship of a national educational monthly has been offered me; and a few weeks ago I was offered property valued at upwards of \$25,000, to go to Irvington, Ill., and take the agricultural college there and "run it." Thus far I have declined all proposals for a change, and shall probably do so until duty appears clearly to point me elsewhere. Whatever of prosperity or popularity I have has come from my staying in my place and keeping to one thing. A small force working steadily in one direction will finally be felt as a great power.

"My labors are too many and too hard. I am growing old too fast under the incessant strain. God grant my work may be well done when He calls me home."

CHAPTER VI

JANUARY 3, 1870. From causes I cannot now fully recall my entries in this record have been intermitted for three years. In February, 1867, a few days after the last record I received a letter from Thomas Quick, Eq., of Irvington, Ill., saying that he was one of the trustees elect of the new Industrial University to be established in that State from the proceeds of the grant for agricultural and mechanical education, that a law for the organization and location of the University had just passed, and that the Trustees were required to elect at their first meeting, the second Tuesday in March, a Regent or President of the University. He urged me to permit him to present my name. Yielding for once to the first impression, I replied favorably and on the day mentioned was elected Regent of the Illinois Industrial University. The sober second thought disinclined me to accept * * * * and I went to Illinois to see if I could not honorably be released. I was however so urged to accept that I finally wrote a conditional acceptance, and on the first of April entered upon service. The Board met the 7th of May, when I presented a plan of organization which was substantially adopted."

The almost cryptic brevity of this entry shows little of the real significance of the events it re-

cords. In Illinois in the sixties profound economic and educational movements only dimly conscious of their own ultimate tendencies were warring blindly. Into a maelstrom of misunderstandings and cross purposes John Milton Gregory came as the organizing, directing mind that brought accomplishment out of chaos. Under his hand the University took shape, the University that was destined to grow so far beyond the struggling institution over which he presided, but which never could outgrow the faith and vision of its first Regent. That the University of Illinois is in a very real sense his monument is acknowledged alike by his coworkers and his successors. Had Regent Gregory's conception of the nature of a University been less clear or less lofty, had he failed in practical wisdom, in courage, or in decision of character in the midst of the difficulties that confronted him, the University must have floundered through many decades of increasingly narrowed activity as a mere collection of trade schools. Whether it then ever recovered the main channel of educational development or whether some other and larger-spirited institution took over its mission, (for in the long run great social needs must find their fulfilment) certainly the whole progress of the state toward democratic education must have been incalculably retarded. Regent Gregory did not fail. Under all the clamor of short-sighted partizanship he

read the signs of the times aright. What this State and the world beyond this State owes to John Milton Gregory, you, Alumni of this University, can perhaps realize.

All the accomplishment of Dr. Gregory's life up to 1867 may be regarded as preparation for the thirteen years at Illinois which were his life-work. Certainly with the exception of those few incidental and unfortunate years in the ministry (which loomed so large in the minds of his opponents as to blot out all the rest of his record) his career seemed peculiarly designed to shape him for the needs of Illinois. He was a farm boy, thoroughly educated under the greatest of American college presidents. His editorship of the *Journal of Education* had made him a student of the educational thought of all times and countries. Six years of constructive and administrative work in the Michigan school system had brought him into vital contract with the needs of a state similar to Illinois. Three years as a college president had acquainted him with the special problems of college administration. Finally it will be remembered that in Michigan he was ex-officio a member of the board of trustees of the State Agricultural College. As secretary of the board he had an intimate acquaintance with the institution, and had done much for its development. Probably no man ever came to the presi-

dency of a land grant university better prepared to understand its needs and possibilities.

The situation in Illinois was a very complex one. To discuss it with any degree of thoroughness is quite beyond the scope of this book. Indeed it is my purpose to present here with what truth I may the life of an educator, and only incidentally the history of the institution into which that life built itself. That history has been ably and fully presented elsewhere. The first volume of a scholarly and exhaustive documentary history of the University of Illinois appeared in 1918. (*1) For the casual reader there is a briefer history of the University, written by an alumnus. (*2) It would be foolish to attempt to repeat in any measure what has already been so ably done. Therefore by chapters on John Milton Gregory's regency at Illinois will be devoted chiefly to the personal and often unofficial aspects of his work which must be passed over in an account written from the standpoint of the institution. Nor were these aspects the least important, as you, his alumni for whom this book is written, will realize.

Some part of the history of the institution must be sketched, however, as a background for the biography; and, beyond the single institution,

*1 University of Illinois Semi-Centennial History, by Burt E. Powell.

*2 "Illinois" by Allan Nevins, (American College and University Lines).

something of the social evolution which gave rise to it and to other great land grant universities which have gone through similar struggles.

One of the aspects of educational history in this country which will be rather difficult to justify to impartial historians of the future is the way in which the original federal land appropriations for university education were diverted to other uses or diminished by the most shameless graft and maladministration. This had been especially flagrant in Illinois. It was only too evident that here, as Mr. Gregory had observed in Michigan, the pioneer farmers regarded higher education as an ornament rather than a necessity. The first serious movement for the establishment of a state university came with the Morrill Act of 1862. This Act granted to each State and Territory 20,000 acres of public land for each congressman or delegate according to the apportionment of 1860 for the purpose of establishing schools to teach "agriculture and mechanical arts, without excluding other scientific and classical studies." These institutions were to be established within five years, and the land sold to provide a permanent fund for them.

Although the state as a whole had shown itself indifferent to the earlier federal grants, the land grant of 1862 was inspired by an Illinois educator. It is only of late years that Jonathan B. Turner has received recognition as the originator

of the Morrill Act. The cause of industrial education owes much to him.*

Professor Turner's early life was not unlike that of Dr. Gregory. He went from a farm in Massachusetts to Yale University where he earned a sound classical education. In 1833 he went to a small college at Jacksonville, Ill., as Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric. But his interest speedily turned towards the question of industrial education. In 1847 he resigned his professorship to become a farmer and fruit-grower. It was he who introduced the osage orange as a hedge plant (an important contribution to the development of the State) and the Turner red raspberry is still the standard for this climate. Turner was one of the first men in this country to see clearly that agriculture must increasingly become a skilled profession demanding a high degree of specialized training and developing a technology of its own. Such development was practically blocked by a system of higher education indifferent to the need of any other training than that of the old classical and professional schools. Mr. Turner set himself to awaken a popular demand for university education adapted to the needs of the industrial (and especially the agricultural) classes. For more than thirty years he wrote and taught and lec-

* For a fuller account see "Life of Jonathan B. Turner" by Mary Turner Carriel and Semi-centennial History of the University of Illinois."

tured unceasingly with this one aim in view. His efforts culminated in the Land Grant Act of 1862. The plan and even the drafting of the act were his, although it was deemed expedient for political reasons that Representative Morrill of Vermont should father it.

Even after the passage of the Land Grant Act the idea of a state industrial university had by no means smooth sailing. The period from 1862 to the opening of the University in 1867 was a time of conflict. Many factors combined to make it so. First, there was the same apathy on the part of the state (and especially the legislature) that had defeated the intention of earlier federal grants. It was only too plain that here, as we had occasion to observe in Michigan, the taxpayers did not think that higher education was worth the price; or at least so the legislature interpreted the public mind.

Furthermore the institutions which had come in for a share of the earlier university funds were not anxious to disorge. These, together with the denominational colleges which either had or hoped to have some share in the loot, formed a body of vociferous opponents to the founding of a genuine State Industrial University. The denominational colleges were influenced not only by the hope of a much needed subsidy if the funds could be scattered but also by a characteristic distrust of state education. The "godlessness" of

state universities was a favorite theme with them. Indeed often their avowed reason for existence was the provision of a so-called education which checked the sciences within bounds convenient for theology. They had therefore a double motive for leading the opposition.

Finally, the believers in all the orthodox concepts of education, the men to whom culture meant primarily the humanities, with courteous recognition of the pure sciences and the older learned professions, were all opposed on principle to the basic idea of an industrial university. Education as they understood it must necessarily be the privilege of the leisure class or of the older professions. Those who were doing the bulk of the world's work needed nothing beyond common schooling, with perhaps a trade schooling added. The notion of agriculture as a profession requiring a university training struck them as fantastic.

Such opposition to the new industrial education in general and to land grant universities in particular was by no means confined to Illinois. All over the country the situation was being duplicated. President Andrew D. White's autobiography records a similar conflict over the founding of Cornell. Everywhere there was the same jealousy on the part of existing institutions, the same petty squabbling and grafting made possible by public apathy; and everywhere win-

ning its way through these difficulties was the same movement towards democratic education.

Indeed we look at the entire subject too narrowly if we limit it to a mere conflict of interests in one state, and to the working out of the ideas of one man or group of men. Back of the heroic struggles of Turner, back of the broader-visioned efforts of Gregory, lies a great inarticulate social and economic movement. We cannot grasp the significance of the leaders unless we see them as the interpreters of a tendency.

It is an interesting fact of economic history that the Grange, the first of a series of radical movements among the farmers for the betterment of their condition, began with the founding of the order of Patrons of Industry in 1867, the year of the founding of the State University of Illinois. It is evident that at that time the agricultural classes were in a state of increasing unrest with an awakening group consciousness which resulted in a demand for a fuller recognition of their particular needs and desires. To some extent the Grange and the Land Grant Act may be regarded as growing out of the same conditions.

A combination of circumstances partly due to the Civil War was making the financial situation of the farmers in the sixties a hard one. The railroads, upon which the farmers' prosperity in large measure depended, were exploiting the

grain interests to the utmost. Unfair rate fixing put the producer at their mercy. Furthermore, the farmer's lack of storage facilities and of capital forced him often to glut the market. Of these conditions he was increasingly aware. Dr. Buck in his *History of the Granger Movement* (*) states the situation as follows:

"When the Iowa farmer was burning corn for fuel, because at fifteen cents a bushel it was cheaper than coal, while at the same time it was selling for a dollar in the East, he felt that there was something wrong and quite naturally accused the railroads of extortion. Furthermore he looked upon the various discriminations in rates, justifiable or otherwise, as evidence of extortion; for if the railroads could afford to make one rate in one instance, why could it not in all? * * * * It is quite evident that the farmers had a number of real grievances against the railroads, although they did not always clearly understand the situation or realize just where the trouble lay." Other factors aggravated the sufferings of the farmers and their consequent sense of injustice. The unstable condition of the currency, and especially its rise in value as measured gold increased the financial burdens of the already heavily indebted agricultural class. The resultant temper and prevailing economic doctrine Dr. Buck states, re-

* The Granger Movement, by Solon J. Buck, Harvard Historical Studies, XIX, p. 14 bf.

sembled those of the physiocratic philosophers of pre-revolutionary France. "Like the physiocrats, the farmers were wont to look upon agriculture and land as the source of all wealth, and to divide society into the two classes of producers and non-producers, including in the latter all those engaged in the distribution of the products of the former. Although the indispensibleness of the non-productive class to society was admitted, that class was often looked upon as a necessary evil, which ought to be restricted to the smallest possible dimensions; and it was always stated that the proportion of the returns of the distributing factors was altogether too large, and, conversely, that received by the producers was too small."

With such an economic philosophy, stung into group consciousness by the sense of economic disadvantage, the farmers were intensely distrustful of the older educational ideals which ignored their particular needs. All over the country they began to interest themselves individually and through their organizations in the subject of industrial education. They seem to have been generally suspicious of the educators who were conducting the land grant universities, lest they revert to the old classical type. Dr. Buck records the heckling that followed some other universities during the years when the Illinois agricultural party were keeping Regent Gregory under a fire

of criticism. "During the seventies the various agricultural and mechanical colleges and state universities which profited by the land grant of 1862 * * were just getting on their feet. But few students in agriculture presented themselves at these institutions as a rule, and so the funds were used for the support of other departments. Some of the farmers were inclined to complain of this and to demand that college farms be established for more practical work in agriculture and that manual labor on farms be required of students. Where separate agricultural and mechanical colleges were established there seems to have been less difficulty; but where the work along these lines was given in departments of more general institutions there was often complaint that the result was 'a literary kite with an agricultural tail.' The Patrons of Husbandry interested themselves in this subject in a number of states. In California, a committee of the state grange investigated the state university in 1873 and reported a neglect of agricultural instruction and a mismanagement of funds; and in Ohio a similar investigation was made in 1877 into the workings of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Columbus which has since become Ohio State University. The National Grange in its "Declaration of Purposes" adopted in 1874, asserted: "We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges that prac-

tical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study." In 1876 a resolution was adopted "that the agricultural colleges ought to be under the exclusive control of the farmers of the country, and that these colleges ought to be as far as possible, separate and distinct schools. The following year the committee on education of the National Grange presented a report concerning agricultural colleges in fourteen states, approving some but condemning others because no practical work in agriculture was done or because the agricultural were subordinated to the literary departments."

Of this demand on the part of the farmers themselves for an education suited to their needs Jonathan B. Turner was one of the earliest and ablest interpreters. The history of his valiant fight to secure such education in Illinois is outside the scope of the present biography.* Suffice it to say that the conflict was marked by three stages. The first of these was won by Turner when the Land Grant Act became law with the signature of President Lincoln in 1862. The second was won by Turner when the Illinois legislature resisted the appeals of established institutions and devoted the sum intact to the founding of a single State Industrial University.

* Cf. *Life of Jonathan B. Turner*, by Mary Turner Carriel, and the *University of Illinois Semi-centennial History*, Vol. I, Chapter VI.

The third stage of the conflict was over the location of the university and the selection of the board of trustees and the regent who would largely determine the character of the institution. Here it seemed to Turner that the interests of the farmers were defeated at last.

The elements of graft certainly won in the location of the University at Urbana. Several rival claimants appeared at Springfield, and after a campaign of graft and wire-pulling notable even in those days of political corruption, the matter was settled with little regard for the interests of the University. The appointment of the first board of trustees was a little more decorously managed. But it appeared that the denominational interests triumphed there. By adroit suggestion Governor Oglesby was led to appoint a board of trustees almost entirely Baptist! When the matter was called to his attention it is recorded that the Governor characterized the trustees and their Church in a burst of profanity of truly Homeric proportions. But the harm was done. When the trustees proceeded to elect as the first regent John M. Gregory, formerly a Baptist clergyman, then president of a denominational college, it is little wonder that Turner and his loyal supporters abandoned the institution in disgust. Turner's comment on the election was "O Lord, how long, how long? An ex-

Superintendent of Public Instruction and a Baptist preacher! Could anything be worse?"

This alienation of the agricultural party, who were almost the only sincere and disinterested friends of the University, was a serious matter. It made the situation confronting the regent-elect doubly difficult. Dr. Gregory had gone into a difficult situation in Kalamazoo with the prestige of a statewide reputation back of him. Here in Illinois he was practically unknown. The one fact in his career which was advertised seems to have been those few insignificant years in the ministry. This was used effectively to close against him the minds of the very men whose ideal it was his mission to interpret. Nothing was said of the six years in Michigan when he had been a trustee of an agricultural college, or of his able reports on agricultural education, or of the numerous addresses and articles in which he had pleaded for a more serviceable and practical training of youth.

In Illinois Regent Gregory stood alone between the fires of two hostile groups. On one side were the agricultural interests, passionately and inarticulately desiring a great university to meet their own needs and regarding with suspicion and hostility every educator and every subject that seemed tainted with the older university traditions or with clericalism. These regarded the university as foredoomed to failure under

Regent Gregory. On the other side was an apathetic state filled with jealous institutions and disappointed grafters who would have rejoiced in the failure of the university under any leader and who grudged it every necessary appropriation. Even the board of trustees, so far from being impressed by the prestige Dr. Gregory had earned in his varied and successful career as an educator, seemed incredibly unaware that any training, experience or ability was necessary for the task of organizing a university. It is actually recorded that one of the trustees introduced a resolution that "any member of the General Assembly is competent to hold the office of Regent." Evidently the new Regent had to work largely with untrained, opinionated men so utterly without conception of the nature of a university that they would not appreciate and be guided by the trained man who was appointed to lead them. It is small wonder that Regent Gregory recorded in his diary, "Sober second thought disinclined me to accept, and I went to Illinois to see if I could not honorably be released."

The opposition developed almost automatically as soon as the Regent's activity began to be felt. The diary record continues: "I was however so urged to accept that I finally wrote a conditional acceptance and on the first of April entered upon service. The Board met the seventh of May, when I presented a plan of organiza-

tion which was substantially adopted. In the summer I went to Minnesota to aid in locating some of the Land Scrip of the University, and passed my birthday there. In the autumn I attended and addressed several county fairs to lay our plans before the farmers and others. I also delivered an address before the State Fair held at Quincy. This address was published in the *Chicago Tribune*. In the course of the Fall an opposition began to show itself. M. L. Dunlap, one of the Trustees and a correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, began to assail the plans of the University in his letters to the *Tribune*, and make personal assaults against my character and doings. These became shortly very bitter and malignant."

The trouble with Mr. Dunlap was significant. He represented in large measure the hostile agricultural element, and was supported in his attacks by the powerful *Chicago Tribune* and other papers. The entire controversy centered in the interpretation of one phrase in the Land Grant Act: "The leading object of the University shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." Dunlap and those of like mind with him held that "without excluding" should be taken, not as a literal statement that scientific and classical studies were not at any

time to be omitted from the curriculum of electives, but as a mere permission to include them in some vague future when "agriculture and the mechanic arts" could use no fuller allowance of University time or money. Mr. Dunlap's statement is explicit. The Act, he said, made "the teaching of agriculture and the mechanic arts its duty—a mandatory order that should be obeyed. But this was not all. There were other classes that might in the course of time come under the sunshine of its usefulness, and a permission was implied, after the first mandatory order was obeyed, and there were funds for the purpose, 'other classical and scientific studies' might be pursued; but until that period arrived the school should be for the sole benefit of those who belonged to those industries. "Such is the law and such is the expectation of the people." *

The agricultural party whose distrust of the university administration came to a head in the attacks of Mr. Dunlap was by no means homogeneous in its educational opinion. Indeed the rank and file were decidedly hazy as to just what they wanted. Their only bond was a distrust of classical education and a desire for a university suited to their own needs. What these needs were they themselves did not fully understand. At one extreme were a considerable body of farmers and "plain people" whose distrust included all

*Semi-centennial History, p. 294.

“book learning.” Their notion was a trade school with no entrance requirements and little theoretical knowledge, where farm boys might go in their off seasons when there was little to do on the farms and earn their way by their own labor, studying (it is not clear what) in their spare time. But the true leaders of the movement for agricultural education men like Jonathan B. Turner, Bronson Murray, and John A. Kennicott were themselves men of sound education and broad vision. Their conception of agriculture as a learned profession requiring a special university training was based on the need of the application and dissemination of scientific knowledge. The old traditional methods that wasted effort and exhausted the soil no longer sufficed. Soil chemistry, plant physiology and animal husbandry must be made the subjects of research. For this men of advanced scientific training as well as practical experience were needed. No one was more aware of this than Professor Turner. Moreover, as an experienced teacher he perceived the fallacy of separating the practical from the theoretical in education. In 1864 he himself effectively demolished the arguments of the extremists of his own party, in an article quoted by Newton Bateman in his address at the inauguration of the University, as follows, “One capital and fatal error has been the idea that we should send a boy to school to learn to work, and not simply to learn

to think; thus absurdly attempting to teach, by public endowment and munificence, the little arts of personal manipulation instead of the magnificent science of universal success. Nothing could be more fatal. When I have taught a boy merely to hold a plow, I have only taught him to be a two-legged jackass, twin brother of the team in front of him. But when I have taught him truly and scientifically all the mighty mysteries of seas, stars, oceans, lands, and ages that are concerned in the act of plowing, I have made a man of him—had we not better say, an angel? Art, in the sense of mere labor, mere servile imitation, alone is only animal, the common property of dogs, asses, and monkeys. But true labor, inspired by universal science and intelligence, is not only characteristically human, but also Divine. What could be more absurd than to take a hundred boys, in their teens, away from their parents, the year round, and set them to dabbling with a hundred teams for a few hours per diem, half of which would break their traces and run away the first hour, under the absurd pretext of teaching these boys how to plow? When Almighty God created the heavens and the earth and ordered man to ‘eat his bread by the sweat of his brow,’ he created and most liberally endowed the best possible university for learning all the mere manual arts; and if we expect to supersede Omnipotence by grants of land for endowments in this line, it will

prove worse than a Bull Run defeat; for no institution for teaching the arts and the habits of bare manipulation and industrial skill can ever be endowed at all comparable with those which the great Father of All has most munificently spread abroad over every household, every shop, and every field, throughout the civilized globe. The *PRINCIPLES OF SCIENCE*, therefore, and not the bare manipulations of art should form the *SOLE END* of Industrial Universities.”*

Between the ideals of Jonathan B. Turner and John M. Gregory there was no real conflict. But Regent Gregory's vision went farther than Professor Turner's. No one saw more clearly than Dr. Gregory the need of raising agriculture to the dignity of the other professions. But he saw, what Turner in his antagonism to the theological and academic reactionaries overlooked, that this end would be defeated by committing agricultural education to a program narrowed to exclude all humane culture not demonstrably leading to professional efficiency. The older learned professions of law and medicine demanded a liberal education for admission to their specialized training. No small part of their prestige was due to the fact that a physician or lawyer was usually a cultured as well as a trained man.

Nothing worse for the ultimate development of the farming class could be imagined than their

*Ibid, p. 299 f.

scholastic segregation. The evolution of a system of training leading straight from the rural schools through a specialized technical college back to the farm, with no freedom of choice for individual youth and no contact with other braches of human learning, must result in a peasant class as rigidly shut out from fullness of opportunity as the less skilled peasantry of the old countries. The ideal which prevailed in the earlier days of American agriculture was sounder. Then the typical successful farmer was a gentleman and a scholar, prepared to occupy his leisure in the enjoyment of art, the humanities, the pure sciences. The farmers held a political power out of all proportion to their numbers, a power they have since lost. The tradition of Washington, of Jefferson, of Madison and Webster and Clay, statesmen and gentlemen farmers all, was not likely to be restored by the graduates of a university such as Regent Gregory's opponents had in mind.

The curriculum which Regent Gregory presented to the Board of Trustees was as follows:

I. Agricultural Department—Embracing: 1. The course in Agriculture proper. 2. The course in Horticulture and Landscape Gardening.

II. The Polytechnic Department—Embracing: 1. The course in Mechanical Science and Art. 2. The course in Civil Engineering. 3.

The course in Mining and Metallurgy. 4. The course in Architecture and Fine Arts.

III. The Military Department—Embracing: I. The course in Military Engineering. 2. The course in Military Tactics.

IV. The Department of Chemistry and Natural Science.

V. The Department of Trade and Commerce.

VI. The Department of General Science and Literature—Embracing: 1. The course in mathematics. 2. The course in Natural History, Chemistry, etc. 3. The course in English Language and Literature. 4. The course in Modern Languages and Literature. 5. The course in Ancient Languages and Literature. 6. The course in History and Social Science. 7. The course in Philosophy, Intellectual and Moral.

To this statement was appended a fuller exposition of the work in the departments of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, indicating that the work of these departments was to be thorough and planned to cover a wide range of subjects.*

The accompanying report on entrance requirements insisted on a respectable standard. A comparison of this report with the entrance requirements of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Michigan, Columbia, Cornell and Williams showed no substantial difference. *2 But a provision for

*1 Ibid, p. 282.

*2 Ibid, p. 285.

the admission of special students opened the advantages of the University to students who in the then backward state of rural secondary schooling could not meet the standard entrance requirements.

This report placed in all conscience sufficient emphasis on "agriculture and the mechanic arts." To have done more would have robbed the institution of all title to be considered a university. A comparison of this report with the curriculum of Union College (cf. Appendix 11) shows how widely this University differed from the old classical college.

The Trustees accepted the Regent's report. The essential character of the Illinois land grant institution was established as a university and not a mere technical school.

The opposition was by no means silenced, however. The men of large vision were won over as soon as they perceived the real significance of the Regent's policy. It is pleasant to record that on his first visit to the University Professor Turner came to a cordial understanding with Dr. Gregory which ripened into a lifelong friendship. These two men were great enough to appreciate each other. No partizanship could long prevent their recognition of an essential unity of purpose. Twenty-five years later Professor Turner, as an old man of ninety, writes to Dr. Gregory, then also retired from public life, that he has had few friends in whom he has felt such likeness of mind.

But Mr. Dunlap did not admit defeat. Finding himself in a minority on the Board of Trustees he carried his attack upon the University and its Regent into the Chicago papers, with such vigor and bitterness that the Board of Trustees was forced to take cognizance of the matter. The Semi-centennial History records the episode as follows: "From documents now at hand it appears that it was at a meeting of the board of trustees held in Urbana on March 10, 11, and 12, 1868, that a majority of the board brought Mr. Dunlap to task for statements he had been making in the press and elsewhere which they considered injurious to the welfare of the institution. To them it seemed unfortunate to have a deep distrust in the institution created before it ever was opened. There has been confusion and misunderstanding as to what happened in this connection, chiefly for the reason that the board determined later in the session not to publish in the minutes of the sessions the action taken upon this subject. Without going into details or attempting at this late date to say who was right and who was wrong a few simple facts, supported by documentary evidence, may be stated in order to have a clear record of events.

"The board passed at one of its sessions a preamble and a resolution in which were rehearsed the ways that Mr. Dunlap, in the board's estimation, was injuring the industrial university

and proposed to proceed by committee or otherwise to inquire into the matter. A special committee of five was appointed which made an investigation and then an extended report closing with a series of five resolutions.

"During the sessions and following an interview of the special committed with Mr. Dunlap, J. C. Burroughs of Chicago, a member of the board but not a member of the special committee, counseled with Mr. Dunlap; Burroughs pointed out that Regent Gregory had undertaken a difficult work, one in which he had to make precedents and blaze trails, and that in an unfamiliar region. He pointed out also the unmistakable sincerity, clarity of judgment, and common sense of Regent Gregory. Dunlap began to think he could safely be more lenient—a man should be given time to prove himself—perhaps he, Mr. Dunlap, knowing the state as few men knew it, acutely conscious of its educational needs was, by his very ardor, made overcritical. He saw hope for the future. He decided that perhaps he had judged the new man too harshly and he would give him a chance to prove himself.

"Then occurred a reconciliation. Dunlap crossed the room and shook hands with Regent Gregory. Just what was said or promised by Dunlap is not certain. The members of the committee said later in letters that he promised not to pursue such a course in future, and that he

voted for the first resolution submitted by the committee in its report; the resolution reading as follows: 'Resolved, that this Board of Trustees have undiminished confidence in the integrity, ability, and fitness of the Regent, and pledge him a firm support in the performance of his duties.'

"For the sake of harmony the board then consented to have the special committee withdraw its report, and no record was made in the official minutes of the meeting, although the newspapers of the time had more or less accurate accounts of this episode.

"These events ended the most serious part of the friction and from this time on the feeling between Dunlap and Gregory was more fortunate. In later months the members of the special committee and certain other members of the board thought that Dunlap had broken his promise. In this it is quite conceivable that they had read into whatever Dunlap had promised an erroneous interpretation." *

The difficulty with Mr. Dunlap may be regarded as a typical rather than an individual case. The spirit of distrust and opposition which Regent Gregory had to work against was confined to no one man. Sometimes, as in the attacks of Mr. Dunlap, it was inspired by a sincere misunderstanding of the true interests of agricultural education. As often it was inspired by jealousy

* Ibid, p. 295 f.

of the institution or by the niggardliness of the public in the matter of appropriations. We need not go farther into the history of these struggles through which the University gradually won its way to public acceptance and support. The details are fully recorded elsewhere, and have little relevance for this biography.

Although the opposition of the agriculturalists could not swerve the policies of the Regent, it left its mark on the University in a number of small ways. For instance, several decades elapsed before the University rid itself of the absurd terminology by which the farmers insisted on distinguishing their institution from classical colleges. But in due time the "Industrial University" became the "University of Illinois" and the "Regent" became "President."

Before we leave the subject of the agricultural controversy, we may turn for a moment to the records of the investigation of European industrial schools which Regent Gregory undertook as soon as the University was fairly under way. The conditions he found there were a striking vindication of his policies as opposed to those of his opponents.

The diary records "In May (1869), having asked leave of absent for the summer, I sailed for Europe, purposing to spent the vacation in visiting the schools of Europe. During the summer I visited England, France, Germany, Swit-

zerland, Russia and Belgium, experiencing great pleasure and gaining much useful information. I returned in September after an absence of about four months, very much improved in health."

The itinerary of this trip has not been preserved. From scattered references we gather that Dr. Gregory covered a wide field with surprising thoroughness in those few months. He visited a number of schools in each country and conferred with the leaders of educational thought. Especially he seems to have had prolonged interviews with Baron Liebig, "the father of agricultural chemistry." Dr. Gregory's trained powers of observation, his conversational mastery of both French and German, and his thorough acquaintance with the problems he was investigating enabled him to gain an insight into European methods of industrial education quite out of proportion to the length of his stay.

It was characteristic of Dr. Gregory that he should thus acquaint himself with the methods and progress of agricultural education in Europe. His was a truly cosmopolitan mind. A linguist and a historian, he had acquired the habit of approaching every problem from the standpoint of the world as a whole. Therein he had an enormous advantage over most of his critics who approached the problems of the Illinois Industrial University merely from the range of experience

of the practical prairie farmer. The situation illustrated the platitude of scholarship, that the man trained in methods of acquiring information is more valuable than the man who has merely acquired a store of information.

There was one aspect of the problem of agricultural education which its advocates quite overlooked. In the then undeveloped state of the science of agriculture it was impossible to make much of it genuine university work. There must be decades of research, experiment, organization of material, and training of instructors before agriculture could come into its own as a teaching subject. Meanwhile, the College of Agriculture must either teach the mere "manual art" (which Turner himself declared had no place in a university) or must devote itself primarily to experiment, offer what courses it could, and permit its students to fill out their education with cultural electives borrowed from the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. The latter alternative was the policy of Regent Gregory.

Meanwhile, as we have observed, Dr. Gregory took the first opportunity to study the methods and matter of industrial education in those countries where it had been developed farthest. The results of his four months of travel and investigation are recorded in a report to the Board of Trustees and in a series of newspaper articles and addresses.

Two things are apparent in these records: first, that many problems to which this country was just awakening had already been dealt with in older countries whose more limited resources had forced them to more efficient methods in agriculture; second, that Dr. Gregory's program for industrial education was much more nearly in accord with the best experience of Europe than was that of his opponents. Some quotations may be of interest.

Of the Royal Training College at Chester, England, Dr. Gregory reports "The labor system has been abandoned, chiefly, I inferred, from the trouble in finding work and the expense it entailed. The shops however are well supplied with all the parts of machines and with the models of machinery for teaching by illustration. The studies embrace the English branches, physics, mathematics, and also Latin, French and German. The success of the instruction is shown by the fact that its graduates have readily found places in the great machine shops as mechanical engineers when no others could find room." At the Royal Agricultural College, the only agricultural school in England, Dr. Gregory reports experimental farming similar to that which he had established in Illinois.

Agricultural education in France had made some serious mistakes and was not in a flourishing condition. The school at Grignon Dr. Greg-

ory found was on the point of failure, largely because the school had aimed too exclusively at 'practical' training rather than at research, experiment, and the training of leaders. However, he says, "No one thinks that agricultural education is to be abandoned in France. It is only to assume a higher form and a more scientific type. It has been too narrow and technical, say the best informed."

Dr. Gregory found that Germany was at that time the acknowledged leader in industrial education. Her dense population and limited natural advantages had forced her to intensive cultivation of all her resources in land and labor. In a published letter on Agricultural Education in Germany Dr. Gregory says "The question of the union of the polytechnical schools with the universities has been debated long and earnestly by German scholars and statement. The argument on both sides has been exhausted. The suffrages are finally settling down with surprising unanimity in favor of the union. And this decision in favor of a union embraces agricultural as well as other technical instruction. The celebrated Baron Liebig is among the most ardent advocates of the union of Agricultural Schools with Universities. 'You know I am opposed to isolated schools,' said the old Baron to me, as I sat with him in his library. It was under his influence that the agricultural department was

added to the old University of Halle. The new Polytechnical School in Munich, where Liebig resides, is not only connected with the University so far that many students attend lectures in both, but it is also itself a University, bearing the title of the 'Polytechnic University' and requiring for admission the same preparation that is required in the other Universities, except the Greek language. I asked the Director of the College of Agriculture if they did not fear that the high standard of qualifications required for admission would bar out students. He replied, 'Make your school good. See to it that you have good teachers, good apparatus, libraries, and so forth, and the students will be sure to come.' There is sound sense in this view.

"The Polytechnic men all say that the aims of the first Polytechnic Schools were too low and limited. They sought to give only *practical knowledge* as it is sometimes called, or knowledge of the arts themselves without regard to the stage of preparation or general culture of their students. They were unable to carry the education far enough to reach the best results. Now everywhere they are raising the standard for admission and adding more general and liberal study to their courses of instruction.

"And foremost among the questions which will be asked me is this: has agricultural education in Germany, on the whole, been successful? I

put this question one morning to Baron Liebig, intimating to him that doubts on this point existed in America. The splendid old man drew himself up, and with flashing eye exclaimed: 'The success has been immense;' and then in proof of the truth of his statement added 'In Hesse, for example, the value of the land had increased three hundred per cent under the improved methods of agriculture introduced by the diffusion of Agricultural Science. And this increase has not come, as your lands increase in value in America, by increase of population, but by the actual improvement of the fertility of the soil. The immense quantity of artificial fertilizers, the phosphates and sulphates now used in Germany are evidence of the progress of Agricultural Science. Lands which were worn out and nearly useless have been renovated and rendered abundantly productive by the improved methods and manures.'

"The German agricultural schools have introduced two measures which have helped greatly to increase their influence and usefulness: First, they have organized an extensive and thorough system of agricultural experiments for the discovery of new truth and the solution of the great questions of agricultural science. The second measure is the establishment of a system of itinerating lectures for the diffusion of agricultural knowledge among the farmers. A double advantage results from this work; agricultural

science is diffused among the people, and the agricultural schools secure a higher place in the public esteem."

These articles on industrial education in Europe followed by a vigorous campaign of articles and speeches on the work at the Illinois Industrial University. Dr. Gregory realized that he must not only do his work at the University but explain what he was doing to a hostile or indifferent public throughout the State. Although these articles and addresses are polemic rather than historical in intention, a few of them merit quotation for the analysis of the clash of opinions.

In an article on Agricultural Education Dr. Gregory writes: "Industrial education like all other education comprises several elements and is of different grades. Among its grades we may properly distinguish these three: first, the grade of simple practise; second, the grade of mixed theory and practise; and third, that of pure theory. The object of the first grade is to make skillful workmen. The aim of the second is to fit students to become foremen, leaders and managers of industrial enterprises. The third seeks to produce scientific scholars who may become teachers and discoverers in the industrial arts. Each latter grade to some extent presupposes and includes the preceding. The failure to perceive or duly consider these different grades

in industrial education has led to much needless confusion and misunderstanding, and to much foolish criticism. In a complete system of industrial education there ought, doubtless, to be primary schools as well as colleges. It may be seriously questioned whether the establishment of such schools is not necessary to meet the general requirements now often made by a very general but somewhat vague public opinion upon the Industrial Colleges. It is very evident that many look to our Agricultural Colleges as simple farm schools, where boys may learn farming alone; and they are disposed to resent the introduction of other and higher studies as a departure from the primary aims of these colleges and a perversion of their funds. But as has been wisely said by Professor Turner, and more recently by President White, that multiply our endowments by thousands, and Industrial Universities cannot compete with shops and farms within a stone's throw of every man's door, as schools for the learning of the mere manual arts. We have heretofore had no schools in America of the second grade of Industrial education described—the grade of mixed theory and practise. The polytechnic schools have simply taught theory without practise, unless we call chemical analysis and geometrical drawing practise. One or more of the new Agricultural Colleges, as that of Yale, propose to confine themselves to instruction in

theories of agriculture. But most of the Industrial Colleges and Universities now organized or organizing under the law and grant of Congress propose to cover both the second and third grades of Industrial Education. They design to afford their students so much of exercise on farms as shall give them a practical mastery of the arts, while they provide opportunity for thorough study of the sciences relating to these arts. Students who desire it may remain only long enough to become good scientific farmers, etc., while those who have the leisure and ability for it may remain to acquire a more perfect and profound knowledge of all the sciences and their relation to the arts."

CHAPTER VII.

THE diary record continues: "At the Fall meeting of the Board it was determined finally to open in March, as had been voted indeed in May, and the winter spent in fitting up, buying books, getting a faculty, and advertising.

"1868. On March second the University was opened with about 50 students and two professors besides myself. (Baker and Atherton.) On the 11th of March formal inauguration exercises took place. The attendance increased during the term to about 75."

It was not a very promising location in which the University was thus inaugurated. All the grandiloquent promises of the political schemers who had brought the University to the Twin Cities amounted in visible equipment to one ugly and unsuitable building and scattered farm lands of doubtful quality. Judge Cunningham describes the situation thus: "The building and grounds in which our people hoped to house the new University, a five-story structure with a four-story ell on the south, stood alone out on the bare prairie, unfenced, towering high above everything in either town, and very conspicuous for miles away. It occupied ground equal to two squares of the ordinary size. The entrance to the

front, the north side of the building, was at the natural grade line of the ground, with no outside steps, and the building had an appearance suggesting that as a stake it had been driven into the ground. From the entrance at the north front stairs began which led from story to story until the upper or fifth had been reached. In the front portion of the building, which was 124 feet in length from east to west, were rooms to be used for recitation rooms and dormitories, which in the wing were more recitation rooms with kitchen and dining room, and a chapel in the fourth story, the original design having been to prepare for the conduct of a boarding school. No bush or shrub had ever grown upon that bare piece of prairie. What was known as the 'Griggs Farm,' part of the donation of 400 acres to the State, lay away to the southeast two and one-half miles from the building and grounds; the Busey Farm of 420 acres was a little over a mile to the south; while the 160 acres farm commonly called the 'experimental farm,' was a little over a half mile south, with a forty acre tract, half a mile long, between. Some of the trustees questioned whether the latter farm was in fact 'adjacent' to the buildings and grounds." The Board then at the May meeting decided to put a fence around the "white elephant," put a portico on it, rearrange certain rooms, grade the grounds, and otherwise improve the property which had figured so bravely in

Champaign County's offer, so far as the sum of \$7,850 made improvement possible.

Photographs of the early campus present what must have been a prospect of despair to anyone less blinded by a vision than Regent Gregory and his first faculty and students. The bare prairies stretch away to the horizon in every direction with not even a sheltering tree, except, on the campus, a few pathetic little nurslings promising for the future but adding nothing of present beauty. Muddy roads wander by irregularly, fenced from straying cattle. In the foreground an uninteresting little ditch marks the Boneyard, a stream as unlovely as its name. In the midst of this incredibly ugly landscape stands the building popularly known as the White Elephant, looking, as Judge Cunningham says, like a stake driven into the ground,—an architectural horror in the sunlight.

We can only imagine the effect of all this upon Dr. Gregory, bred among the gracious hills and lakes of New York. If his heart sickened at the sordid ugliness of this environment he showed it only in the passionate eagerness with which he added to his already heavy labors a wholly gratuitous struggle to awaken an aesthetic sense in the prairie farmers. We shall see in a later chapter how he worked against indifference and ridicule to bring to his students some part of their human heritage of art. You, his

Alumni, have shown your appreciation of this part of his work when you determined to make your memorial to him an art gallery.

Beside the pictures of that desolate early campus, the beauty of our campus today has for us a deepened significance. Cornell, Harvard, Wisconsin and other universities began with hills and waters and great trees about them. But when we pause on the steps of old University Hall to see the play of light and shadow among the lawns and stately trees of Burrill Avenue, or stroll among the rock beds of the Horticultural Gardens or the dim aisles of the Forestry, or, at the twilight concerts, watch the sunset fade on the dome of the Auditorium and the great solemn arch of the Armory beyond, we remember that all this is the gift of men who dreamed on the bare prairies and worked for the University that was to be.

Now our boys and girls carry away with them memories of a campus which needs no loyal blindness to make it dear to them. Is the loyalty none the less? Will our alumni go out to lives of such serviceable citizenship, and will they come back, fifty years hence, as the first classes come back now, with a passionate gratitude to their Alma Mater for the gifts of the spirit she bestowed on their young lives? We hope so. But on class day when the forty- and fifty-year reunions gather, not all the University's increase in size and

in wealth and in prestige can convince those white-haired men and women that she has increased in greatness. They themselves are proof of it. For the greatness of a university is measured only in the lives of its alumni; and those short lists of graduates in the seventies show a striking proportion of distinguished names.

Hearing the reminiscences of the alumni who shared these openings days we realize the indomitable courage and faith that pervaded the little group of students and faculty. The living conditions involved much of physical hardship. Most of the students had come to the University dependent largely on their own earnings. It was the policy of the Regent and faculty to encourage every earnest youth in his struggle for an education, no matter what odds were against him. The expenses were low, even for those days. Room rent in the unfurnished dormitory was \$12 a year; board was \$2.25 a week. But there were many students who could not afford even that. These subsisted chiefly on potatoes and cornmeal, cooking their own food.

Besides the physical hardships, many of those first students came to the University poorly prepared and unused to study. During the first year many of them were really making up entrance work before they could do anything in the university proper. The faculty caught the Regent's spirit and were very patient with these il-

literate farm boys, and the boys were pathetically eager for education. But the lack of proper preparation made the work of the class room difficult for both sides.

Nevertheless, through all the difficulties and discouragements the dominant note that strikes us in all the accounts of those first years is faith: faith of the students in the Regent and faculty, faith of the Regent and faculty in each other and in the students, faith of all of them that here in these desolate prairies, whatever their hardships and handicaps, however the rest of the State might ignore or misunderstand them, they were the beginning of great things. Such a spirit is creative—the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. There is a note of prophecy in the Inaugural Address of Regent Gregory which marked the real beginning of the University in March 1868. It is well that we should remember what spirit of faith in the present for the future and solemn acceptance of responsibility this our University was founded. If that spirit should ever die out among us the greatness of the University must end.

Let us return to the diary: "The summer vacation was passed partly at home and partly in the field. In August I went to Nashville, Tenn., to preside at the meeting of the National Teach-

ers' Association. In September the University opened with three additional professors and about 125 students. The opposition still raged, but, though doing some mischief, did not affect us much.

"1869. In March the Trustees at their meeting reëlected me Regent for two years, the legal time."

An important addition to the scope of the University was made in the following year. From the first the admission of women was considered a possibility. Girls from the vicinity requested admission. A few, the Regent's own daughter among them, surreptitiously attended classes. But on the whole Dr. Gregory and the Trustees were inclined to delay the formal adoption of co-education. The reason was purely one of temporary expediency. Conditions at the University were hard enough for the boys. Dr. Gregory had a fatherly idea that girls should be in some measure taken care of, should not be permitted, for their own sakes, to endure all the physical hardships and the crudities of social environment that the boys were meeting in those early days. His one argument against the admission of women was "we are not ready to provide suitable accommodations for the girls yet. Wait a few years, until the State gives us proper buildings for them." No man ever believed more thorough-

ly in the fullest possible admission of women to all educational and professional opportunity.* If he wrote little that has specific reference to them, it was because, thinking of women as nothing more or less than human, he felt that all he said on the general subject of education applied to them. But he felt strongly that, as women's lives are lived now, there is grave danger that girls may fail to build up the robust physical health that is so large a factor in serviceableness. He knew only too well how energy of mind and will are hampered in a body weakened by early hardships. Hence his disinclination to open the University to women before the erection of a women's dormitory. The rumor that he opposed the admission of women in theory is absurd. We, his daughters, (and that name includes not only those of his own family but the hundreds of his women students) can testify to his unfailing solicitude for our fullest development of mind and body, to his desire that we should be well equipped for any profession for which we had aptitude or inclination.

But the girls could not wait until the State was ready to give them proper living conditions. They would have been waiting yet! The State of Illinois will appropriate for everything else sooner than for women's dormitories. But in 1870 the continued applications of women

*Note on profunct training.

brought the matter to a vote. There was a tie on the Board of Trustees. Regent Gregory gave the deciding vote, in favor of the immediate admission of women.

The men students welcomed the decision, showing from the very first the fine brotherliness of attitude toward the girls which is in such creditable contrast to the traditions of coeducation in the East. It is said that some of the boys were eavesdropping at a stovepipe hole in the room above the Board room when the vote was taken, and were so delighted with the decision that they gave themselves away by applauding.

In voting for the immediate admission of women, however, Dr. Gregory insisted upon one condition: there should be a woman appointed to the faculty to take care of the girls and their interests. With this proviso came the organization of a new and important department in the University, the Department of Household Science.

The Department of Household Science was and is still nominally a part of the College of Agriculture. This arrangement was in many ways a fortunate one, although it is not entirely logical. It aligned the new work definitely among vocational studies. The misconception by which Household Science has been most hampered is the idea that it is a subject in which every girl should dabble a little. This reduces it from a

special preparation for certain professions (as dietitian, institutional manager, teacher, extension worker) to a mere glorification of the ordinary routine of the individual household, with which every girl ought undoubtedly to be made familiar long before she comes to college. As it is, the study of Household Science everywhere has had a hard struggle against the incorrigible amateurishness of the average woman.

The task of organizing the new department at Illinois was given to a woman with a broad grasp of its significance and a thoroughness of training which made amateurishness of any sort abhorrent to her. Miss Louisa Catherine Allen, the first Professor of Household Science, was born in Kentucky, bred on an Illinois farm, and educated at Normal University. At the time she was called to the University of Illinois she was Assistant Principal of the Peoria High School. Her interests were practical and scientific, her habits of mind thorough and constructive. Her combination of independence of thought with sound standards of scholarship made her an admirable person for the pioneer work to which she was called. Moreover, as a "sometime milkmaid" (so she once referred to herself) she had a sympathetic understanding of the opinions and prejudices of the Illinois farmers who constituted her public. In 1870 she was attracting considerable attention throughout the state by a series of

Farmer's Institute lectures in which she urged a scientific study of the problems of the household.

When the position at the University was offered her, Miss Allen declined on the ground of insufficient preparation. But when it was made clear to her that there was no other woman available with even so much training as she had and certainly none with so clear a conception of what was needed, she accepted the triple task of organizing a new subject, educating herself in it, and at the same time teaching it.

Professor Allen set about her work with energy. She spent her summers as a special student at Harvard and elsewhere, working under Professor Josiah Cook, Professor Asa Gray, Dr. Mary Safford Blake, and other distinguished scientists, often in their private laboratories. She was one of the last women to be admitted to Huxley's lectures on Comparative Anatomy, at the University of London. She visited Vassar, Wellesley (which tried to add her to its faculty), Mount Holyoke and other women's colleges, to acquaint herself with the best that was being done for the education of women. Returning to Illinois, she planned a course in Household Science which was decisively of university grade, with a stiff system of prerequisites. If any girl entered Professor Allen's department with the idea of acquiring a few pleasant feminine ac-

complishments without effort, that girl must have been sadly disillusioned.

Here, as in Agriculture, there was the greatest difficulty in finding trained instructors. Professor Allen herself taught as many classes as she could manage. For the others, she called in specialists from the departments of Architecture and Chemistry.*

Professor Allen was not appointed as the first woman on the faculty of the University of Illinois merely to teach Household Science. She was to be the official representative of all the interests of all the university women. In addition to her professorship she was given the office of Lady Principal, or, as we should now call her, Dean of Women. Here, too, she did valuable and constructive work.

As a disciplinarian Miss Allen's success was due in no small measure to her faculty for preventing cases of discipline. She had the confidence, admiration, and personal loyalty of her girls. Her dignity of manner and force of character made her mistress of any situation. This is all the more striking when one remembers that she was only a girl herself. When she was appointed Lady Principal she was twenty-three years of age! On one occasion she was intensely

*The best account of her work is given in a report she wrote some years later at the request of the United States Commissioner of Education.

annoyed when a newspaper report of one of her lectures described her as "a pretty girl." Perhaps her youth and attractiveness were less of a handicap than she seemed to feel. Hero worship has a pedagogic value. When Miss Allen urged her girls to dress simply and sensibly and conduct themselves with decorum, she was obeyed in no small measure because her own dress was artistic as well as practical, and her bearing as gracious as it was dignified.

Two features of Miss Allen's work as Lady Principal deserve comment in this biography because, as she herself said, they would never have been possible if she had not had the understanding co-operation of Dr. Gregory in what were at that time startling innovations.

The first innovation was the introduction of a course in physical training for women. Miss Allen was in thorough sympathy with Dr. Gregory's solicitude for the health of the women students. After a special study of what was being done for the physical education of women in the eastern colleges, she fitted up a women's gymnasium and gave her girls a vigorous course in calisthenics, supplemented by lectures on personal hygiene.

That anything so obviously sensible should meet with opposition seems incredible now. But the opposition developed promptly, led by physicians and parents. The objections were two-

fold: first, women should not be subjected to such severe strains (dumb bell and Swedish exercises!) and second, the costumes were immodest (pleated skirts ankle length!). Recognizing that the opposition could come only from ignorance and misunderstanding, Miss Allen gave a public exhibition of the work of her calisthenics classes, sending a special invitation to the physicians who opposed her. The girls were so graceful and so attractive in their simple uniform of a full black skirt and blouse with a crimson sash, and their enjoyment of the exercise was so evident that the physicians and the public were won over completely.

Miss Allen's other innovation was equally sensible, but it has not even yet gained such universal acceptance as the first. Miss Allen prepared herself by special study under a distinguished woman physician to give to her girls a course of lectures on the physiology of the reproductive system. It is difficult to overestimate the value of such training to college women when it is given by a properly trained woman in a spirit that combines reverence with scientific objectivity. One's whole subsequent attitude of mind toward the fundamental facts of life is determined by such lectures. Courses similar to Miss Allen's are now given in all the leading women's colleges and in many universities.

It was no small part of Dr. Gregory's success

as an administrator that he knew how to gather around him a faculty capable of constructive thought, who gave to the University their best work because they could rely upon the understanding and support of an open-minded president. The brief biographies of the First Faculty which appear in the Semi-Centennial History describe a striking proportion of distinguished careers begun at Illinois. George W. Atherton, the first Professor of English was later for twenty-four years president of the State College of Pennsylvania. Professor Thomas Jonathan Burrill whose recent death closed forty-eight years in the service of the University, from instructor to vice-president, was a scientist of international reputation. To his eminence as an educator and as a scholar we can only refer in passing. You, Alumni of Illinois through many college generations, know with what love and reverence you looked to see him at each reunion, and how important a part of your University seemed gone when the word went out to you that our Grand Old Man was among us no longer. Professor Shattuck's death the year before closed another career of distinguished scholarship which began with beginning of the University. We might with profit study the biographies of that First Faculty. Indeed it seems that the University then had a peculiar power of attaching to itself the service of great men.

Whatever the attraction was that held such men, it certainly was not academic leisure. A professorship in those days was no sinecure. The curriculum was a stiff one and the faculty few. A man was expected to know and to teach not only his own subject but almost any allied subject, and in addition turn his hand to all sorts of practical labors that would astonish a modern scholar. The Regent, accustomed himself to doing approximately three men's work, naively assumed that his faculty were of like temper. They were. His requests were treated as law, and his faculty were his loyal friends. Which illustrates the common observation that a first rate man will submit to almost any amount of overwork so long as it is creative and unhampered work under a leader with a vision. Nevertheless, now that the age of giants is past, we lesser folk read with amazement accounts like that which Professor Moss gives of Thomas J. Burrill's activities in 1870. "He taught most of the day, was horticulturalist to the experiment station, planted with his own hands or saw to the planting of most of the trees on the campus, after he had laid it out for treatment, wrote reports, lectured here and there, served on innumerable committees, collected specimens up and down the state, and, lest some remnant of his time should be unoccupied, was charged by the board with the sale of a pair of mules, whose labors on the south farm showed

that they were not so able to stand the strenuous life as he was. His professorship began at sun-up, lasted indefinitely, and included everything that needed doing.”*

Before we turn from Dr. Gregory the administrator to Dr. Gregory the teacher, there remains for our consideration the subject of his work with student organizations.

First of all, an inevitable corollary of his belief in education as training for citizenship, Regent Gregory gave his students Self Government. The idea was of course not a new one. For centuries it had formed the basis of the great English schools.† Indeed competent historians have held that the practice and tradition of self government in schools had much to do with the Eng-

*Semi Centennial History, p. 350.

† “The prefect system is of immemorial antiquity. It can be traced not only in the foundation statutes of Winchester College at the end of the fourteenth century but is found in the only extant series of school statutes before that—in the new statutes of St. Alban’s school, made in 1309, while the Winchester statute is a direct repetition of the statutes of Merton College, the oldest university college at Oxford. A part reads as follows: ‘Some of the more discreet of the aforesaid scholars shall be elected to take charge under the Warden of the less advanced as to their progress in learning and the uprightness of their behavior. Also in each chamber in which the scholars live there shall be one more mature than the rest who shall superintend his companions (*sociis*) and refer to the Warden and the rest of the *praeceptors* (*caeteris in nujus modi cura praepositis*), and to the whole body of scholars themselves if necessary.’ Effective protests by rebellion against the use of the prefect power are on record in the late 18th and early 19th centuries at Winchester and Rugby. The provisions of William of Wyckham still set the fashion of self government of boys by boys in English public schools.” (Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, article on Prefect System.)

lish aptitude for democratic institutions. In this country only the women's colleges seem to have grasped the full significance of the system. The men students in land grant universities are for the most part unwilling to accept the responsibility it entails, and the faculties seem for the most part indifferent. At the University of Illinois student Self Government lasted only so long as it had back of it the dynamic faith of Dr. Gregory.*

The Student Government at Illinois was regarded with interest by educators in other states. Dr. Gregory was invited several times to speak on it before educational associations. The manuscript of one such address remains, giving us his account of the system and his argument for it:

"No question more profoundly concerns the well being and progress of American colleges than the government of their students. Every community to be safe and prosperous must be governed. The right must be defined and guarded. The wrong must be forbidden and when necessary punished. This is as true of a college as of any other community.

"College government is beset with peculiar

*Self government among the women has been reestablished, and is aiding in the solution of many problems. Among the men there is nothing worthy of the name. Indeed their prevailing indifference to the welfare of the student community is more suggestive of anarchy than self government, and the perpetual charges of graft in the management of existing organizations augurs ill for the future citizenship of our boys.

difficulties and dangers. Whoever has had much to do with American colleges has felt these difficulties and seen these dangers. Even the great public is not wholly unknowing of them. Too frequently the public press has to chronicle the outbreak of college rebellions or the commission of some outrage in college circles. To preserve the credit of the colleges most of these are kept from the public, and only the parents whose sons returned home disgraced by suspension or expulsion learn of the violations of college laws.

"It would be unjust, perhaps to affirm that college outrages are on the increase, but it may safely be said that the difficulties of maintaining good college government grow steadily greater. The temper of the times is notoriously relaxing the strength and steadiness of family government, and the young are coming to an earlier feeling of their rights and an earlier demand to be released from the old time control. The earlier statutes of Harvard provided for the use of the rod on refractory students. Today one would as soon think of hanging them. College students have come to feel and assert their manhood. Many of them are men in years, and all claim, without a thought of refusal, the rights of grown men. Though students and in school they no longer count themselves as "under tutors and governors," except in the single matter of answering the roll call of their classes.

“In Europe the universities, to which our colleges answer but poorly, count upon this maturity of their students and do not undertake any personal supervision or control. As a professor at Halle told the writer, the university faculty assumes no responsibility in regard to the general deportment of the students. The professors are employed to give lectures, and beyond that they have nothing to do with those who are attending the lectures. The truth is, students have got beyond control, and the faculties may be suspected of making a virtue of necessity. They abdicate an authority they dare no longer assert. Duelling, drinking, and nights of debauch pass almost unheeded, unless they become so outrageous as to invoke the power of civil authorities. Even in English Oxford the rowdyism of the students at their great anniversary exercises was so obstreperous as to shock the charity of one of the most charitable of American college presidents. In Paris, students of the university openly live lives which would drive them from decent society in America. There is much plausibility in the European theory that universities are institutions for grown men, not for the young and immature, and that any attempt to control the moral conduct of students would be as impertinent as it must be useless.

“We have for a moment turned attention to the European universities, not for the purpose of

either criticizing or condemning their lack of government, but to note the theory to which they have been led and the fruits which have apparently grown from it. Is there not reason to believe that the drift in the higher institutions in this country is in the same direction? Not long ago the president of one of the oldest of the American colleges told the writer, in nearly the language of the German professor, that his college did not undertake to watch over the conduct of his students; that it was its business to furnish instruction and if a student attended his classes and passed his examinations that was the extent of its care.

“It is certain that not many American fathers would like to send their sons to a college which refused to assume some degree of parental care. And it is true that most faculties of American colleges count themselves as under some sort of obligation to guard their students from drinking, gambling, and other immoral practises which would ruin characters and seriously interfere with education. But the growing difficulties of college government are apparent to all thinking observers and to those who are not willing to abdicate government and leave immature youth exposed without watch or warning to the temptations which always lurk in crowds, any light thrown on the problem of college government will be welcome. Granted that a revolution is

in progress, shall the result be no government? Or shall it be the establishment of some new and better form of control, more in keeping with the spirit of the age and with the more manly and independent manners of our youth, but not less effective in keeping our American colleges centers of an education as morally sound as it is intellectually strong? It is as a contribution towards the right solution of this problem that the following description of the experiment now in progress in an American university is written. This experiment though now in the tenth year of its progress, is not claimed as a permanent success nor offered as applicable to all institutions of a similar character without reference to conditions or circumstances.

*The Student Government of the Illinois
Industrial University*

“More than ten years ago one morning in chapel the president of the Illinois State University with the consent of the faculty offered the students the privilege of organizing a student government. In a short address he laid before them their own interest in the preservation of good order, reminded them that they were not children but citizens of a country requiring in its people the power of self government, that some were already voters and all of them had come to years when life assumes a serious purpose; that

if they would they could more certainly detect and prevent violations of college laws than any faculty could do. He warned them that it would not be boys' play; that it would cost time, care, energy, and firmness. Finally he asked that they should not decide suddenly but give serious thought to the proposition and talk it over among themselves, and be ready to express their decision when he should call for a vote in a few days. Several mornings later, after a fresh statement of the importance of the movement, the vote was taken and was found unanimous in favor of the establishment of the proposed government. Accordingly a committee of some of the oldest and most trusted students was appointed to confer with the president and prepare a draft of a Constitution.

"The University of Illinois occupied one large building affording dormitories for about 150 students, the wings including chapel, library, laboratories and class rooms. The students of the University numbered about one hundred and fifty, and ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-five. They were chiefly from the rural districts, and were a sober and earnest body of young men. The University was of recent origin, and no secret societies or other bad usages of the older colleges had as yet crept in.

"After some debate a Constitution was adopted providing for the election of a president, vice

president, secretary, treasurer, and marshal who might with the concurrence of the president choose deputies or assistants. A court consisting of a Chief Justice and two associates were to be nominated by the president, and all complaints were to be tried by them without jury. All laws were to be made by the general assembly of the students with the approval of the Regent (president) of the University. Laws were made against noise or disorder in the dormitory buildings during study hours, against gambling, drinking, or keeping intoxicating liquors in their rooms, against injury to college property. The penalties consisted of fines ranging from a few cents to five dollars, and it was understood that the student refusing to pay his fine was to be reported to the faculty, who retained all power of suspension or expulsion in their own hands.

“The government went into operation with the utmost seriousness, students of mature age and conspicuous ability having been elected to fill the offices. The officers felt their responsibility. They were cordially supported by the Regent and Faculty, and also by the public sentiment of the body of students. A few, from the love of fun or other motives, attempted to test the strength of the new government; but its power was soon felt and good order was established and maintained with little variation. The best students gave it their confidence and support, and the

mischief-loving found themselves opposed not by the few men of a busy faculty but by the body of their fellow students.

“Two years later a new main building and other buildings were erected, and the students, increased to 350, were obliged to find rooms throughout the city. The general assembly of students had become too large to deliberate on the proposed laws. In this juncture a new constitution was proposed, providing for the election of a senate of 21 members, one third of whom were to be elected each term (or trimester) and their terms of service were to be one year. All legislative power was to be vested in this senate, subject to a veto of the Regent and Faculty. The college territory and neighborhood were divided into districts for judicial purposes. Laws against visiting saloons and other misdemeanors were enacted.

“In this senate all projected laws were introduced as bills, which were required to pass the usual three readings. A senate chamber was fitted up, which served also as a court room, and regular weekly sessions of both these bodies were ordered. The court licensed such students as desired it and could pass an examination before the judges in the constitution and laws to practise as attorneys in the college court. But any student could plead his own cause.

“The president and other elective officers of

the government, except the senators, held office a single college term. At the opening of each term and one week before the election (which was held the second Friday of the term) it was made the duty of the president to nominate two good and qualified candidates for each office. These nominations were all printed on a ballot which was called the government ticket. Independent tickets are often put in nomination by those who dissent from the government ticket or wish to get some friend into office. Sometimes several tickets are put in the field, and the election calls out as much electioneering as those in larger states. As a rule the government candidates are chosen, though a student of great personal popularity runs on an independent ticket. In few political communities is the ballot more wisely used.

“The government has had its enemies. Those students who felt themselves restrained by its vigilance or who have suffered its penalties naturally enough oppose it. In a few cases law abiding but factious students have sought its overthrow. But —”

The rest of the manuscript is unfortunately missing. An account of one of the vicissitudes of the Student Government has come down to us from other sources. It is worth recording for the light it throws on Regent Gregory's way of dealing with the “factious students.”

The difficulty began, as Student Government difficulties are apt to begin, with an incipient fraternity getting a controlling interest in the administration. It is said that a chapter of Delta Tau Delta which had secretly started was eager to measure their strength against the faculty.* A temporary absence of Dr. Gregory left the University in charge of a man with less understanding of the undergraduate mind. The Acting Regent ordered the university choir to practise during the quiet hours established by the Student Government. The choir were promptly fined by the Student Court. They appealed to the faculty, who, irritated by the tone of the opposition, instructed them to pay no attention to the Court. When Dr. Gregory returned he found faculty and Student Government at loggerheads. The officers had called a general student assembly, which threatened to disband the Government unless its action was sustained.

Clearly the faculty were in the wrong. Where Self Government exists, faculty as well as students must respect its legitimate authority. But clearly also the students were acting in a spirit of childish antagonism to the faculty. A University president must, for the sake of morale, save the face of his faculty even when they have been making mistakes. The situation was critical. Dr. Gregory's action was prompt and char-

*Nevins, Illinois, p. 92.

acteristic. He asked the students to summon another student assembly where the whole case might be publicly tried before an impartial judge. Judge Cunningham, a local Trustee, was agreed upon. His decision was, very properly, against the faculty; whereupon Dr. Gregory himself paid the fines of the choir, and the incident was closed.

An analysis of this episode makes it plain why Dr. Gregory could maintain a successful Self Government where his successor could not. He had grasped the principle that students must be given genuine authority and respected in the exercise of it even when they use it in ways inconvenient to their elders. The secret of Self Government is responsibility. Any strong Student Government will at times run contrary to faculty policy. At such times the two governing bodies must meet on a basis of equality and mutual respect to arrive at an equitable decision. But it takes a great educator to stand clear of the school-master spirit, as Dr. Gregory did, and give his students real freedom and real responsibility.

Next to Self Government, it is important that an undergraduate community should have clubs and societies representing spontaneous, non-academic intellectual interests. This need Dr. Gregory endeavored to arouse by the establishment of two literary societies. In 1869 in a chapel talk he proposed these organizations. The students

were divided into equal groups. One became the Adelpbic Society, the other the Philomathean. The latter name suggests that the Regent intended them to be similar to the Philomathean Society of which he had been a member at Union College. As soon as women were admitted a women's society, the Alethenai, was formed.

During Dr. Gregory's regency these societies were a very real factor in undergraduate life. One is inclined to smile now at the intellectual priggishness and pretentious formality of their early programs. But there is abundant evidence that the societies were really alive. After all, a certain over-serious ponderosity is the foible of the best type of undergraduate; it soon wears off as an interest in ideas comes to be more a matter of course.

The same tendency to present heavy papers (usually reminiscent of some class) killed the first student magazine, an eight-page monthly which began in 1871. In 1873 it died of a congestion of articles on "Turbine Wheels," "Man's Depravity," and other things that no one but a dismal, dutiful grind would ever read even in those days. The Illini began the next month, with a rather saner notion of what a college periodical should be. Run under Self Government auspices it brooked no interference from ossified elderly faculty. Gradually it outgrew the tendency to unload term papers on its public and

began to reflect the actual life of the community. From time to time it gave healthy expression to independent student thought in rather sharp criticisms of faculty policies, a function which the Illini has by no means neglected in the last forty years.

The greatest change in undergraduate life since those early days has come with the introduction of fraternities. Regent Gregory was unequivocally opposed to all such organizations. His opposition evidently began when he was an undergraduate in Union College, where, in a strong fraternity center, he was a member of an anti-secret organization founded to oppose fraternities. The grounds of his opposition he made clear enough. He felt that fraternities are undemocratic in principle, that they lessen the undergraduate's sense of citizenship in the college community as a whole, that they narrow his loyalties. Independent himself in his habit of thought and in his choice of friends, Dr. Gregory objected to the almost inevitable tyranny of the small group. Moreover, he felt that where the fraternity spirit exists a strong Student Government is difficult. In this latter opinion he seems to be justified by the history of Self Government and of fraternities. It is common observation that where one is strong the other is weak, or nonexistent.

Besides these objections in principle, the prac-

tice of the fraternities fifty years ago afforded decided grounds for objection. The secrecy was often used to cover flagrant violations of law, order, and decency. Many fraternities now are honestly ashamed of their early record.

Finally, fraternities had often proved a barrier to good understanding between the faculty and the student body. Appeals to the instinct of good citizenship and fairness to the community fraternities met with the gang spirit. Many college presidents were forced to go softly lest they antagonize the powerful Greek letter societies. Regent Gregory was not the man to let his administration be blocked by gangsters. He could yield a point frankly to a genuinely representative Self Government, as we have seen, and have the loyalty of his students increased thereby. But any organization which he regarded as inimical to the morale of the community he nipped in the bud.

What would be Dr. Gregory's attitude toward fraternities as they are now? They have changed so much in the last half century that the answer is difficult. The Equitable Society which he joined as a protest against Greek letter societies has become the Delta Upsilon Fraternity. Perhaps he might have undergone a corresponding change of heart. This we can say with assurance, however: only in so far as the objections we have cited are no longer applicable would John Mil-

ton Gregory have relaxed his opposition to fraternities. The popular arguments that they furnish comfortable living conditions to students who can afford them, and that they labor earnestly to improve the parlor manners of the boorish and to make mediocre students solicitous for grades would have had little weight with him unless the fraternities could prove that they made for active democratic citizenship in principle and in practise.

In Regent's Gregory administration the pressure in favor of fraternities was strong. Only his personal command of student loyalty kept them out.

Dr. Gregory was too able an educator to have to rely on force. In his time a chapter of Delta Tau Delta was secretly established. He was aware of its existence. He had a habit of being aware of all that concerned his students. But the society remained quiescent until his resignation. We may quote the letter of an alumnus to illustrate Dr. Gregory's method of dealing with the forbidden organization.

"The following is known only to myself. In my time the Delta Tau Delta society was the only secret society in existence at the University—and was not wanted by the faculty and the majority of the students. At this time I was corresponding secretary of the D. T. D. and its oldest member. One day Dr. Gregory came to me

in the library and asked me to come to his office. On complying I was directed to his private office where as soon as the door closed he asked this question. 'Mr. Blank, do you know there is a secret society among us?' Answered in the affirmative he then asked 'Are you a member?' I replied 'I am.' 'Who besides belongs?' I replied with a little heat, 'Ask them. I can speak for one only.' He closed the interview at once. The following Saturday evening I dined at his home, but never was I questioned farther on the subject of secret societies."

The fine tact that would not urge a boy to violate his own sense of loyalty proved a more effective weapon in controlling secret organizations than the usual method of prosecutions. It is significant that this former fraternity officer writes elsewhere in the letter: "Dr. Gregory was a man who could read the heart of the boy and in some subtle and kindly way lead him along paths terminating always in betterment. He often turned distrust into a love that was almost worship. He bound me to him with cords I never wished to sever. He was father, brother, friend to me from that time on."

CHAPTER VIII

IT has been possible to compile from documents and records the survey of Regent Gregory's educational and administrative policies. But the heart of his greatness was not there. First of all John Milton Gregory was a great teacher. His true lifework was not embodied in an institution; it was built into lives that he had touched. The teacher's art is of all arts the most far reaching in its results, and the most intangible. Who shall evaluate and distinguish the influences that have gone into the upbuilding of mind and character?

George Herbert Palmer has given as one of the three essentials of the ideal teacher a willingness to be forgotten. That willingness Dr. Gregory possessed in full measure. He gave himself freely, as every true teacher must. But he is not forgotten. He lives in your memories, dear white-haired men and women of those early classes. At reunion after reunion I have watched you gather on the campus before old University Hall, you alumni of the seventies whose achievements are the pride of your Alma Mater. I have seen your eyes kindle and soften as you talked of Regent Gregory. Often you have quoted to me his very words, words that have been with you for nearly half a century.

Hearing that I was to attempt this biography of your beloved teacher you gave me eager encouragement. Very humbly I submit that I cannot satisfy you. The chapters that record John Milton Gregory the teacher must be written by yourselves. I can only serve as your scribe. Through the University there went out to you a short time ago a circular request for your reminiscences of him. Your responses are before me. I have brought the record of Regent Gregory's administration to his class room door. Here I step aside. Of his personal influence upon his students his students themselves shall speak.

As one reads these letters of reminiscence their most striking feature is a certain unanimity of impression. The letters repeat each other in thought, almost in word. The effect is all the more remarkable since they come from the most scattered addresses and the most varied careers. Evidently we have here the impressions of a personality so decided in type, so forceful, so unvaryingly and sincerely himself that he left a clear out and enduring record in all the young minds who came under his influence.

In choosing among the letters for quotation I have not sought to avoid the repetition which is so characteristic. It has a significance. Note how certain phrases and certain situations run through letter after letter, like a refrain. The

shy, awkward farm boy, overawed by the reputation, then disappointed by the appearance of the Regent (a small, slight man with strongly marked features, earnest almost to sternness). But "he had the kindest eyes!" The Regent's word of greeting, warm, personal,—then "I knew I had found a friend." "He was always our friend." "The friend of all his students." "He was like a father to us." "We loved him like a father." "We felt his fatherly interest in each one of us." The Chapel Talks, luminous, forceful discussions of great questions of the day and of the problems of personal ethics. Often a vivid saying from them, treasured and tested through forty years of life and repeated in his very words. The class room—Dr. Gregory walking slowly back and forth before the class as he lectured, all the eager young faces in rapt attention as some great historical epoch was made to live for them. The dear remembered snatches of conversation as he walked about the campus, "always surrounded by students." The sternness of his rebukes which sobered the most unruly (and yet perhaps all that he had said was 'Gentlemen, this conduct is unworthy of you'). Treasured remembrance of some chance meeting in later years. And again and again, insistent, the dominant note, clear above all others, "We all loved him so! We loved him! We have never forgotten, because we loved him!"

Some of the reminiscences begin before the opening of the University. Dr. Gregory spoke and lectured unweariedly at county fairs, farmers' institutes, schools,—wherever he could get an audience to hear him talk of the new industrial education. Many a boy could trace his first thought of a university education to these talks. Judge Nealy of the class of '80 gives such an account, in his Memorial Address.

“When I was a boy I went with my father to attend a county fair, and in the afternoon the people gathered around a wagon from which a speaker was talking. His voice rose clear and strong above the crowd, and his presence and theme commanded attention. In the midst of an exhibition of material products he invited them to consider the importance of educated citizenship. There he insisted upon mental and moral development and made plain the duty of the state to teach her children how to live. My father said to me: ‘When you are old enough, you will go to the University.’ Today, I can see the man lifting the people around him to higher ideals. It is the only incident of the fair that I can recall. Its deep impression has never left me. After many years I came here and at once felt acquainted with that friend of young men.”

Another distinguished jurist writes: “I entered the University in the Spring of 1869 at the age of fifteen years. Dr. Gregory was a

friend of my father's, and at the latter's solicitation Dr. Gregory and his estimable wife consented to take me into their home to board. I had never been away from home before, and I well remember how low my spirits were when my father left me. But the gloom was soon dissipated by the kindness of Dr. Gregory and his family. While watchful care was given me, Dr. Gregory treated me with a deference and respect so delicate and yet so dignified that I was inspired with a sense of my own responsibility, and in spite of my youth I began to feel that I was expected to conduct myself as a man of honor should. * * During the succeeding four years I always felt that Dr. Gregory had a personal interest in my welfare although I soon discovered that he had a personal interest in the welfare of all his students and that he knew them all by name."

Another alumnus writes: "I remember the first morning as a freshman I saw him at the chapel exercises. He impressed me as I imagine Lincoln impressed the people of his day. Like Lincoln, his features were strong, rugged and homely. Indeed his appearance to a stranger seemed to place him at a disadvantage in a faculty beside such men as Shattuck, Snyder, Crawford, Taft and Burrill. But when he spoke we forgot the appearance of the man in the strong, masterful, musical voice. We felt the keen intel-

lect, the sympathetic heart, and the great soul behind it."

A physician writes from the State Hospital of which he is the Managing Officer: "The student who rolls up to the door of the University today in the family automobile to enter the class of 1922 has little conception of the feelings of those of us who, more than forty years ago, found ourselves for the first time in our lives perhaps away from home. And in a State University at that! Fresh from a one-room village school, wholly unprepared for the pretentious curriculum shown in the prospectus, but native sons, whose parents felt that since the state university was in an embryonic state its students might be equally so. Ah, the warm hand-clasp of the Regent, as he was then known. Lonesome? Homesick? Certainly, but the generous welcome quickly banished both. We wondered what had become of the dread we had nourished during the months of preparation, and which we expected to overwhelm us when we entered the august presence of even one of the minor instructors. Yet there we stood at the desk of the famous educator, the President of the University, the man who had won distinction in New York and Michigan and was conferring it on Illinois.

"He wasn't busy: He didn't hurry; I noted at once that he and my father had ideas in common, that they discussed matters far beyond my

grasp. But he took time to say, 'For you, my boy, algebra, rhetoric and grammar for the first term.' How did he guess my shortcomings? His friendly understanding followed me all through the college course. Whenever he walked through the campus or down town, I joined him if the encircling group of students did not prohibit. Always he had for me the pleasant smile, the kindly and encouraging word, the lesson drawn from some current question. 'That was Dr. Gregory of the seventies. * * Three years ago I stood at his grave on the campus while the tablet on his tombstone was unveiled and dedicated. I felt like Tom Brown at his master's grave. I wanted to say then what I say now, that in those days when higher education was sending out its first appeal to the rank and file of the Great Prairie State no truer friend of the student, no better interpreter of the mental attitude of the boys that made up the classes of that time could have been chosen than John Milton Gregory.'

An alumna who later served the University as Dean of Women has a similar memory of Dr. Gregory's graciousness to timid freshmen: "My first impression of Dr. Gregory was in the fall of 1873 when I was a candidate for matriculation at the University. Shy, sensitive, and sixteen, with quickened pulses my chum and I went into his office to hand him a personal letter from my

high school principal. He received it kindly and read it immediately. Looking at us over his glasses, he dispelled our fears with a few words of courteous, cordial greeting. Turning to me he said 'You will vouch for your friend also, will you not?' As it seemed that I should reply in the affirmative, I confidently did so. At the first opportunity I remember rushing to the dictionary to see what 'vouch' meant. I would not be ignorant of the evidently kind thing he wished me to do for my friend."

How they do remember that first word of welcome, those shy, homesick boys and girls! Here are extracts from other letters:

"When I first met Dr. Gregory as I entered the University he spoke to me as a father might, and I knew from that moment that I was welcome there—and I was glad to be there. He was always courteous, kind and just."

"My first impression upon meeting Dr. Gregory was that he had the kindest eyes! The expression of his face would win a student's confidence immediately."

"How well I remember an evening a day or two after the opening of the fall term of 1871 when Dr. Gregory called on us at our room. We were in strange surroundings, among strangers, and just a little homesick. * * The feeling that he had a kindly personal interest in each

student never left me while I was in the University."

As the University grew it was impossible that Dr. Gregory should welcome in person each incoming student, although he somehow continued to know most of them by name. His classes were large and were eagerly anticipated by underclassmen. His home was often thrown open to crowds of young people with whom he delighted in sharing the photographs and reminiscences of his frequent trips to Europe. Indeed he had a genius for sharing his life with young people, a genius for fatherhood. Remembering how crowded his days were with important administrative work and with the labors of scholarship, nothing less than such a genius can account for the personal friendships with individual students evidenced in these records. But even so, his influence in the student body as a whole must have been increasingly limited if he had centered it in the class room and in occasional at homes.

The center of Dr. Gregory's influence was in the daily assembly. Every day the entire student body gathered in the hall still known as the Old Chapel. Attendance was voluntary but complete. No one was willingly absent, for this was the very heart and soul of University life. Here Dr. Gregory made all announcements important to the University community; here he inaugurated Self Government, the Literary Societies,

and other significant movements. And here, above all, he gave his Chapel Talks.

Scarcely an alumni letter but dwells on these Chapel Talks with loving remembrance. Simple they were in diction, practical and timely in theme. They were always brief, always clear cut, definite, and pointed. Often the topics were current questions of the day, great political issues, problems of social ethics. Oftener Dr. Gregory discussed the problems that his boys and girls were meeting in their own lives, the ethics and ideals of young men and women preparing for citizenship, the larger meaning of education. The religious note was always present, the light by which everything else was illumined. Indeed the universal subject of the Chapel Talks might be called Applied Christianity. But the application was always made clear. Dr. Gregory's whole habit of mind was too definite and practical to fall into the generalizations which make the average sermon so ineffective.

Dr. Gregory spoke informally, without notes. He had a habit, however, of making a rough draft of what he intended to say, as an aid to clearness and brevity. Several of these penciled memoranda have been preserved. But vivid and spontaneous speech, with all the power and charm of a practised orator and a dynamic personality, is ill represented by any printed account. A truer record of the Chapel Talk is found in your letters.

Scarcely one of you but has written an impression of them. Often you quote from them some passage which has influenced your lives. Surely the speaker that is so remembered after nearly half a century needs no other praise. I quote yourselves:

“His Sunday afternoon lectures were great attractions. The clubs and boarding halls were emptied. The attendance was not compulsory but the chapel could not have been fuller had it been. These lectures, whether the theme was suggested by the death of some great man or by a flower picked by the wayside, were all inspirations to better living, better thinking, better attitude toward God and Man, in all their breadths and heights and depths. The daily chapel hour talks were never tedious. Character building was usually the theme—good habits, good manners, love of the true and the beautiful,—interspersed with touches of humor, and, always, with the appeal for each soul to reach its best not by ambition but by aspiration. I can hear his voice ring out now with the word “magnanimity.”

“Dr. Gregory’s Sunday afternoon lectures were always practical and to the point. I remember that in a lecture on business he said ‘I would not take a million dollars if it comes with the usual anxiety and questionable methods of obtaining it.’ ”

“Any student who had the privilege of hearing

the chapel talks of Dr. Gregory received a blessing the value of which has been more highly appreciated as the years have increased in number. Dr. Gregory always had a message; when delivered it was clear, forcible, convincing. His appeal was to the higher nature. He never referred to a human being in a disparaging manner. Not only does the spirit of his lectures abide with me to this day, but in many instances the very words he used. * * In conclusion permit me to declare that my life has been shaped for good more by John Milton Gregory than by any other human being, probably more than by all others."

"His quiet earnestness, his sincere interest in the welfare of his students were particularly marked in his Chapel Talks. His words were always interesting and full of encouragement and inspiration to the student. Even when they were not fully appreciated at the time they had much to do with guiding the mind and moulding the character of the alumnus."

"Dr. Gregory was not only a teacher but a powerful orator. He was in demand nearly everywhere, lecturing, and addressing assemblages of all kinds, all over the states of Michigan and Illinois. He always appeared on the platform without notes or manuscript, yet he never repeated or stumbled or seemed at a loss to know just what to say. His discussion of a

subject was clear, logical and profound. He was not profuse in gesture and used little emphasis, but when he did, it was with a voice almost of thunder and an energy that astounded his hearers. After hearing him speak I could carry away with me more of what he said than I could from any other speaker I ever heard. * * He was a deeply religious man, and that in my opinion was one of the elements of his power. I never enjoyed anything so much as his Sunday afternoon sermons to the students in the chapel. In one of these afternoon sermons I heard him proclaim his sense of the reality of God, and he did it with such candor, sincerity and energy as to leave no doubt of his deep and abiding faith. And how I liked to hear him pray! His prayers I have never forgotten. His attitude in prayer was striking; with eyes closed and head upturned he poured forth his petition to the Almighty with such sincerity and faith as to give you the impression that he knew and you knew that he was talking directly with God."

"It was during my undergraduate years that a Chicago church offered Dr. Gregory twice the salary he was drawing at the University to take charge of their church. The offer was refused."

"When the request for something concerning Dr. Gregory came I thought I had nothing to say and dropped the letter in the wastebasket.

This morning at church the minister made an earnest plea for more workers for the Red Cross—and left it there floating around in midair. I could have cried out with dismay that he did not bring it straight to each person and clinch it by telling when to work and where—being definite. Suddenly I was back in the old chapel, in the old University, in the old days when there was chapel every day,—a place where even the least among the students came to know the faculty and the president. Through more than forty years I saw Dr. Gregory as he stood before us, and heard his voice. In the clarity of the vision I recalled fragments of many chapel talks,—those clear, pointed few-minute talks, sometimes on national or world events, oftener concerning the University, oftenest concerning the student as an individual. I heard him say, ‘If a thing is worth while and is to be worth anything to you, you must clinch it, rivet it, and then go around on the other side and fasten the rivet.’ Did he say it more than once, or did one saying for some reason impress it on me so vividly? I do not know. I only know that suddenly today I realized how strong an influence in my life those words have been. I hope they have influenced my own work. I cannot tell. I know they have formed my standard of judgment, showing me the waste in any effort however honest or well meant if it is vague, indefinite, not riveted and clinched. Nor

is this the only time I have realized Dr. Gregory's influence. What is true of me must be true of all who heard those chapel talks, and in greater degree, perhaps, for more thoughtful students. I am very glad to offer this small tribute to a great man."

"His instructive chapel talks always contained enough wit to season them. One day he illustrated the truth that college training will develop the ability in one man and reveal lack of ability in another by saying 'Some men are like hard wood that will take a high polish; others are like basswood that is only worn down in the process.' At another time he said 'Activity is the normal state of a few, but the average mortal is as lazy as circumstances will allow and only as intelligent as he has to be.'

"The influence of the chapel hour was one never to be forgotten. Dr. Gregory's wise counsel enabled us to start the day right. The power of his influence for good is best expressed not in words but in the lives of countless numbers of good citizens scattered far and wide."

"I do not think of him as an orator. I do not recall that I ever heard him designated as one. People listened to him because his thought was attractive rather than because of the power, melody and rhythm of the voice that expressed it."

"Among the many impressions I received during my college career none are more lasting than

those received at the Sunday afternoon talks given by Dr. Gregory in the University chapel. He read a selection from the Bible, (often from the Book of Proverbs, which seemed to be one of his favorite books) and as he read he delivered comments and pointed out particular lessons which he endeavored to impress on the minds of the young men and women before him as an aid to character building. There were chapel exercises each week day also, except Saturday. Doubtless hundreds of men and women students of those early days of the University have carried through their lives, as I have, those impressions for good. If there were any who failed to appreciate the chapel talks at the time, yet I cannot help believing that those kindly words, like widening circles caused by pebbles thrown upon the placid surface of the water, have had an ever widening influence for good."

"His chapel addresses were most helpful. He gave us not only information and counsel but led us by the power of his words to see the goal which once beheld makes all work for its attainment a joy." "Once he said in a morning talk 'Were I to travel again my student path I would pursue it until thirty-five.' Another consoling word treasured by a tall green country boy was 'All a young man need do to shine in any company is to keep his lips and know how to care for and place his hands.' Those Sabbath afternoon lectures

were strength to my expanding mind. One of them that yet remains in my memory was 'Lessons drawn from the Belknap-Star Route scandal.' Dr. Gregory was quick and powerful in denunciation of wrong; just as ready with lesson to encourage and build up justice and truth."

"Once, speaking of enthusiasm, he said, 'Remember, you can bore a hole through a two-inch board with nothing but a poker—if that poker is red hot.'"

"I will never forget the advice he gave us in chapel just before the approaching holidays, my first year. He pictured how we would go home and find some of our friends at work, making money, and independent, and how we would tempted to leave the University and get to money making for ourselves. 'Boys,' said he, 'I assure you that if you will be content to return and persevere in your University work, ten years from now, even judged by the standard of money making, you will be far in advance of those friends you now envy.'"

"If more good men and good teachers talked to boys as Dr. Gregory talked to us in those first years, life would be far safer and better for them."

"Could I but draw a word picture of him as he appeared before us in those little talks he gave us after chapel, I feel sure it would be recognized by all who came under his good influence. On

one occasion one of our harum-scarum boys (we had a few such even in those good old days) said of him to me, 'Isn't he the homeliest man you ever saw?' I thought if he was homely it would be a credit to us all to be likewise, for I never tired of seeing his face and hearing him talk. I should have loved the chapel for the sake of seeing and hearing him, if for no other reason; and I was always sorry when he could not be with me. Even now his looks and the sound of his voice is as fresh in my memory as though it was but yesterday. Surely we and the world were made better by his noble life."

As a final characterization of the Chapel Talks we may quote Judge Neely's Memorial Address. "No single thing in my college days so impressed me as Dr. Gregory's chapel talks. Politics, religion, social conditions were his themes. He would take some living question of the day and present it in a manner so attractive and forceful that it became a possession of the hearer. This very place, this hall, this desk by which he stood recall the many scenes with surprising vividness. Here I heard him declare that every man's life is like some great wheel in a factory, a segment of which is at one time down in the foundation then again that same segment sweeps upward to its highest arc until it catches the full sunlight. Again he said, 'It makes little difference what a man thinks, provided he will be sincere and

think long enough. If he does this, he will think to a right conclusion.' Once rising to the occasion of his speech he proclaimed truth and justice God's two vicegerents upon earth, and that it was man's duty to manifest the one and strive after the other. At another time in a burst of eloquence he said: 'Some men build of blocks of marble; others there are who build in immortal thought.' He was an orator in every sense of the word, and easily held and convinced men by the pure diction of his thought and eloquence. He was a leader of men, and was naturally first in a distinguished company. Sincerity of purpose was his chief characteristic.

"How shall a pupil of the great teacher, recalling the forceful character of the man, his words of gentleness and wisdom, his self-sacrificing devotion, best speak a simple word of just praise? This hall is so familiar and so dear! So often has he stood here to declare some great principle or truth of life! How luminous now do his words seem! They are appealing to us to heed the lessons they taught. There is a difference between recognition and realization. We very readily say we recognize the truth of a statement made, but it often requires years of living and experience to realize the truth of the statement. Those who heard Dr. Gregory here from this platform could not understand his wise words until the exigencies of life revealed their worth."

Rememberance of the Chapel Talks runs through almost all the letters. There is in addition a wealth of anecdotes, reminiscences and individual appreciations not easy to classify. I give them almost at random. They have a unity of their own, for in them all the same strong and beloved personality is mirrored.

"In reproof Dr. Gregory was inclined to be argumentative and persuasive rather than authoritative. To this I ascribe his wonderful influence over the students. One night some of the boys secured a number of Springfields and blank cartridges from the old drill hall and started out to serenade the professors. Their first call they announced with drum and horn and cat-calls and a volley. The indignant professor rushed out in his nightcap and scolded them angrily. He was answered with hoots and jeers. Then the boys made for Dr. Gregory's home, in high spirits. The Doctor appeared at once in his lighted doorway, and spoke to this effect: 'Gentlemen—for I take it such you are, although the darkness will not permit my recognizing you,—I trust you will pardon my seeming lack of hospitality in not inviting you in. But the hour is late and my family have retired. I trust you will come a little earlier in the evening next time. There is another word I would like to say. I will leave it to yourselves to decide whether I am right. I do not regard

it as altogether a manly thing to take the guns and the band instruments for purposes of this kind, although I feel sure it was done simply in a spirit of fun. As a personal favor to me I hope you will return everything clean and bright, just as you found it, with the assurance that nothing further will be said of the matter. I bid you good night, gentlemen.' Someone proposed three cheers for Dr. Gregory. The response was hearty. Then the boys went silently back to the drill hall. The subject was never mentioned outside the few concerned. Those few were taught a lesson they remember still,—that Dr. Gregory was the students' best friend."

"The dignity of his bearing and the kindness of his manner drew my confidence at once. His rather stern, rugged features gave the impression of strength, friendliness and self command. He thought mankind worth while, and drew out and appealed to the best that was in us all. He governed by making an appeal to manhood.—although I came under his influence about forty-four years ago, I think it says much for his power of an educator that my remembrance of him remains so clear."

"Dr. Gregory was an intensely lovable man. The students all loved him. As an illustration of their affection for him I will mention one incident. In the Spring of 1872, I think it was, he made a trip to Europe on some educational

mission. The day of his leaving was one of the stormiest I have ever known. The air was filled with snow, sleet and rain, yet the whole body of students headed by the college band marched down to the train to see him off. The Doctor saw us coming and divining our mission stepped out of the car to the rear platform. He bared his head to the storm, raised his hand for attention, and made a short speech, acknowledging the honor and saying that there would be nothing he would see in the old world that would move him as this hour had moved him. To see the whole college come out in the storm to say goodbye and bid him Godspeed touched him inexpressibly. After speaking he stepped down from the car and the boys made a rush to shake his hand. As I passed him in the rush I just managed to reach his hand and heard him say in his friendly way 'Goodbye, W.—.' Just as the train moved off the Doctor climbed back on the platform, amid the cheers of the students and the playing of the band."

"I graduated in the year 1873, and Dr. Gregory delivered the baccalaureate address. His subject was 'Do Good.' How often I recall it! The day was stormy, rain and hail beating upon the roof, and the Doctor and the elements competing as to which should be heard; but he won. His powerful voice rose to the occasion, and his repeated injunction to the class to 'Do

good. Do good. Do good,' was heard above the din and rattle of the storm.

"Dr. Gregory was a man who would have won success in any profession. Had he entered any other line of endeavor, law for instance, he would have won national fame and attained much greater wealth and material benefits, but he would not have done so much good. His influence over the students was marvelous. I know I have been a better man all my life than I would have been if I had not met and known him. In my school and college days I have sat under many able teachers, and in my passage through the world during the seventy years of my life I have met and known many talented, good and able men. But never in all my long life have I known another man whom I loved and admired so much as I did him. To know him was an inspiration. He imbued me with noble thoughts, lofty ideals, generous sentiments. One could not look into his deep blue eyes, his rugged countenance with the square jaw denoting power, his truthful and candid expression without knowing that he was indeed one of God's noblemen. I have often asked myself why I have not tried more to imitate him. Impossible. As well might a puny hill try to lift itself to the height of a lofty mountain."

"Dr. Gregory's reproofs were gentle. Once in company with another young man I was walk-

ing in Champaign. We were both smoking, which was forbidden in those days. We looked up and saw Dr. Gregory coming, and immediately tried to conceal our cigars. The next morning in chapel he gave the students a lecture on the evils of the tobacco habit. Among other things he said 'Yesterday I met two students smoking, but when they approached me they were polite enough to put their cigars behind them.' This made a lasting impression on me."

"I am sure that Dr. Gregory had an unusual store of patience and a good deal of sympathy with the exuberance of youth in spite of his dignified manner. I well remember his coming to "No. II" (the girls' rest room, which was near his office) and in a most gentle and courtly manner requesting us to make 'less disturbance.' We were dancing a very lively quadrille in order to keep warm that icy January morning, humming 'The Campbells are coming' to the music of a comb orchestra. I really believe he was in manner a new type of man to some of us young people."

"Dr. Gregory chose the University motto, 'Labor and Learning.' His great desire as expressed to us students frequently in his lectures was that labor and learning should go hand in hand, and stand on the same plane.

"Coeducation in the seventies was still an experiment, and Dr. Gregory was very solicitous

for the welfare of 'his girls' as he called us. He admonished us continually to take care of our health and advised us to take as much exercise in the open as we could, as sunshine is nature's tonic. He expected us to give him a nod of recognition as often as we might meet going to and from the class rooms, and he was never too hurried to give us a kindly greeting.

"That he was a man of strong personality is evidenced (by the fact that after over forty years of strenuous self-denying life my mind has only to revert to him for me to recall his image instantly. As I was only at the university two years I was not a member of any of his classes, but I attended his lectures to freshmen on United States History. I cannot tell why, but those few lectures fixed the history of my country in my mind better than several years of previous study had done."

"Dr. Gregory was capable of great concentration of mind. When he was engaged in study he was oblivious to everything else. One Saturday he went to his office in the (then) New Building to prepare an address, working alone. Later in the day Professor Snyder dropped in to speak with him. Dr. Gregory asked him if it was not near noon. Professor Snyder replied in some surprise that it was afternoon. Consulting his watch he found it was three-thirty."

"Dr. Gregory had a happy faculty of knowing

the students wherever he met them. In his presence the most timid felt at ease and befriended. The only time I had the pleasure of an informal meeting with him was during a summer vacation when I was in the employ of a railway company. Taking a train at Decatur between three and four o'clock in the early morning to go to Springfield, I found the Doctor seated in one of the coaches. This was before the days of parlor cars, when Pullmans were a luxury unknown on local trains. I spoke to him, and on recognizing me he asked me to sit with him. The hour we travelled together is one of the pleasantest memories of my life. He talked with a freedom and interest that made me feel that it was a pleasure to him to meet me; as indeed it was, for he took a personal interest in the welfare of each student. In conversation, contact with his clear, sympathetic mind made one feel rested, cheered, and encouraged. Among the many things he said on that ride, one personal observation has remained with me always. He said he had been thinking a good deal of late years whether he was not happier in his older days than when he was a young man. During his younger years he was full of desire to do, to succeed, to be useful, to accomplish something, all of which was accompanied with more or less of anxiety, of fear and doubt, of hope and ambition. Now having attained some success, with the conscious-

ness that he had been of use in life and had done what he could came a serenity that made his old age more pleasant, peaceful and happy than his youth. Of course he remembered that he was coming nearer the end of his life. But 'when the end comes, it will be a small matter, a change that will have no fear or serious regrets.' Whenever I think of Dr. Gregory there comes to my mind that pleasant ride with him in the early morning hours, and the impression his words made upon me. This was some thirty-seven years ago. Having reached the period of years he had then passed I too have the satisfaction of an experience like his, and I bless the memory of the dear man who opened the window of his soul and let me see a little of his inner life."

"I remember Dr. Gregory not only as a great teacher but as a leader of men, with a vision that was far and away beyond the men of his time a courage that was unflinching. His administration of the student body was intensely constructive and left an impress on them that can never be erased. They all loved him, not because of his great intellect but because of his comradeship and largeness of heart."

"He won my deepest respect while I was a student, but as I have increased in years and reasoning and judgment and a broader knowledge of men, I have grown into an ever deeper appreciation of him."

"Had I as a student under Dr. Gregory's leadership and guidance received no benefits other than his daily counsellings on health alone, I would owe his memory a debt of lifelong gratitude."

"He never failed to see and stop for a friendly greeting to the most timid student. This made a lasting impression on my mind and heart and gave me a personal knowledge of true greatness. 'Verily the greatest truths are the simplest, and so are the greatest men.'"

"Dr. Gregory was much with the students, in chapel and class room; and the students, as individuals or in groups, were often with him in his home. As the University was then small, the students and faculty knew him and he knew them about as members of a good sized and closely united family know each other. I always think of him as kind, considerate, tactful and forbearing."

"Although the University was comparatively primitive forty years ago, Dr. Gregory felt the refining influence of great art on a student's life. His talks in the art gallery inspired us with something of his own love for the great masters."

"At that date we were poor in equipment, but this was largely made up to us by the advantage of personal contact and inspiration that came from our teachers. Our teachers, the chief of whom was Dr. Gregory, were our university,

and by reason of their greatness and ability the University has been great from the very beginning."

"The present grand University of Illinois, with all its possible future was in Dr. Gregory's mind, and often outlined to those first students who were so fortunate as to be in his classes. We sang every anniversary of the inauguration his vision of the best, yet to be. True, the conditions of his day prevented his carrying out much of his thought, but he never faltered in his ideal, and we rejoice now that a large part of it is being realized."

"His efforts to build up an institution that would be credit to the State and a benefit to its young men and women were limited only by his physical endurance. One of the most forensic arguments to which I have listened was when Dr. Gregory made an appeal to a committee of the legislature in the old library hall for an appropriation to construct the new university building, the machinery building and the drill hall.

"He was a great character builder. I never knew a person who could so inspire those under him to live clean lives and do their best. No one could come intimately in touch with him without feeling the uplifting influence of his inspiring personality."

"There were some unruly boys in the Uni-

versity in those days, but even these were usually kept within reasonable bounds by their love for Dr. Gregory. Everyone loved him, and he loved everyone. I cannot speak too highly of the nobility and strength of his character and life, nor of the wonderful influence for good he unconsciously exerted over all who came in contact with him."

"If Dr. Gregory took a trip he brought it to us in lectures and pictures. He was the first to bring a touch of the art of the old galleries of Europe to the prairies of Illinois. He persuaded the citizens near the University to help him put in the art gallery. He gave us lectures upon these pieces as they illustrated the history of art. He made us understand how art must add to the greatness of our State which had so far produced chiefly raw materials. The University of Illinois should today by priority of attention given it be the center of art for the Middle West.

"Dr. Gregory was in sympathy with the yet untried coeducation. Man and women, he held, were complements, like the centrifugal and centripetal forces that keep this old world in balance. The vocations of woman should find a place in the University. The status of woman in history—the matrons of Rome, the saints of the middle ages, the queens and subjects of more modern history were held up to us as a panorama

of evolution. When advocating vocational training for woman he would sometimes revert to some homely aphorism, for instance that it was 'better for woman to ride her own horse beside man than to ride his horse behind him.' With no precedent to assist him, except perhaps a little trades course at Cooper Institute, Dr. Gregory founded the first course in Home Economics of University grade. After forty years the world has reached his vision. But it must have required some temerity on his part as well as in the women students who first took this course to meet the jokes and misconceptions thrust at it.

"Not his most extravagant admirer called Dr. Gregory handsome. He was of small compact stature, with rather strongly marked features. The mouth, while sensitive, had a number of muscles suggestive of force and will power, as well as the amiability with which it was usually wreathed. His walk was energetic and graceful and his bearing that of a gentleman. His gray-blue eyes glanced quickly and rested calmly and rather enquiringly upon the person speaking. He bore a quiet confidence in himself, and one never feared his committing a blunder.

"Once when Henry Ward Beecher lectured at the University and an informal reception was held for him at the close of his lecture in the 'Faculty Parlor,' I remember how Dr. Gregory's

tact and skill brought out the great man's happiest mood and best thought. Dr. Gregory never allowed a man of eminence who might be in the neighborhood to escape without giving the students a talk.

"I think our first president might be called a past master of the art of happy and graceful phrasing. A word of praise or of congratulation or an introduction, or even a line in an autograph album had a charm because of his beautiful and fit use of English."

The bond between Dr. Gregory and his students had something of the permanence as well as the tenderness of that between a father and his children. There are a number of letters recalling some chance meeting in later life which show how these men and women kept for him all through the years the same filial love of their student days, increasing rather than diminishing as life taught them to value him more truly. Two of these reminiscences may serve to represent many more:

"Twenty years after leaving college, living in Kansas City, I saw in the evening paper that Dr. Gregory was to preach or lecture in one of the local churches. I went to hear him. The years had made their impress on his person. He was enfeebled by age and gray and furrowed of cheek. Sadly I noted the change in my old preceptor, but when he spoke, there was the

same strong, resonant voice, the same quality of clear and convincing reasoning that gave expression to those ideals and high religious convictions that had guided his life. I went up on the platform to greet him. He knew me at once, and gave me such a warm, tender greeting that tears came to my eyes at our parting. I never saw him again."

"The last time I saw Dr. Gregory was on an occasion when some members of the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations were entering the White House grounds to make a call upon the President of the United States. Dr. Gregory had missed the place of start to which he had been invited and had joined the delegation at the grounds. The quick eye of my husband (who at that time happened to be an official and walking towards the front) caught the figure of his beloved teacher whom he honored as a father, and he skillfully changed places with him as we came up, and himself fell to the rear. Dr. Gregory was then a delicate but not a feeble old man. He was still reading books with enthusiasm, and recommended several for my perusal. As he met the President, and afterwards mingled with his old associates and met the newer educators, there was the same charm and dignity of bearing and the same felicitous manner of greeting that had characterized him in the days gone by. The Uni-

versity of Illinois has grown great among the whole sisterhood of institutions of learning and has before it the hope of future years'; its greatness of reach will never be lessened, because it bears the impress of the master mind that first guided its destiny."

CHAPTER IX.

FROM the beginning I have reiterated my belief that this book is primarily the biography of a great teacher. Teaching is an art quite distinct from organizing and administering educational institutions. Teaching is distinct even from the inspiration through speech and personal contacts which the last chapter records. Such inspiration is an element in great teaching, but not the whole. There must also be an element of patient training. Day by day the learner must be guided into developmental activity through a process of skillful questioning and discipline. As a study of Dr. Gregory the teacher in his actual class room methods this chapter is intended.

High above writer or statesman stands the teacher, supreme among creative human lives. It is significant that earth's wisest, Socrates and a greater than Socrates, wrote no books and founded no institutions. Books have been written and rewritten, institutions founded and replaced, in the name of the Great Teachers. But at the fountain head of all things that endure we find simply a man who gathered young men about him and taught them, patiently, day by day, until his living thought was graven upon living minds.

No great art but has its own laws through which the artist works. When we find a teacher securing such remarkable and permanent results as John Milton Gregory, we may be sure he has a method worth our study. Never was a teacher less haphazard, more conscious of the laws of his art than this man with a genius for education. His students of course could not evaluate his consummate mastery of class room psychology, of the organization and presentation of material. They only knew that the effort of learning was lost in the keenness of their interest, and that principles and facts so acquired proved a life-long possession. We shall close with their accounts of Dr. Gregory's teaching as they see it in the perspective of a lifetime. Let us turn first to Dr. Gregory's own account.

Dr. Gregory thought and wrote much on the general problems of education,—its social and personal value, its subject matter, its institutions. The record of his actual class room method is less voluminous but perhaps more permanently valuable. He was a speaker rather than a writer by preference. When he wrote, it was usually an article for a periodical or the manuscript of an address. It is significant that the only part of his thought he attempted to present in more permanent form is the record of his actual experience as a teacher. He published three books and only three: one is a little handbook on the

principles and practice of teaching, one is a text book growing out of his classes in political economy, and one is a guide to his method in the teaching of history. (*1)

The first of these is the most significant. It is entitled, characteristically, "The Seven Laws of Teaching." This is a simple formulation of essential principles, as specific and as definite as years of experience could make it. Indeed it illustrates in style the clarity of expression and the organization of material which it seeks to inculcate. This little book has been translated into four languages (French, German, Spanish and Chinese) and has gone through edition after edition. (*2) It will never go out of date so long as human nature endures.

Quotation must misrepresent a book which is already reduced to essentials, a book in which the application and illustration is as significant as the principle. But we may take from the first chapter a statement of the Laws:

*1 The Handbook of History and Chronology and the Map of Time which accompanies it were published in 1867, the Political Economy in 1882, and the Seven Laws of Teaching in 1886. But it has seemed convenient to disregard the actual dates of publication and include all three in the chapter on Dr. Gregory's methods in teaching. All three books were actually written in fragments of time during his years of teaching, at Kalamazoo and later at Illinois, and all three represent his actual class room practice.

The Handbook of History was intended as little more than a syllabus for class room use.

*2 The Seven Laws of Teaching was republished in 1916 with an introduction by Professor W. C. Bagley.

“If any complete act of teaching be analyzed it will be found to contain seven distinct elements or factors: (1) two actors—a teacher and a learner; (2) two mental factors—a common language or medium of communication and a lesson or truth to be communicated; and (3) three functional acts or processes,—that of the teacher, that of the learner, and a final or finishing process to test the result. * * * The laws of teaching are not obscure and hard to reach. They lie imbedded in the simplest description that can be given of the seven elements named, as in the following:—

(1) A *teacher* must be one who KNOWS the lesson or truth to be taught.

(2) A *learner* is one who ATTENDS with interest to the lesson given.

(3) The *language* used as a medium between the teacher and learner must be COMMON to both.

(4) The *lesson* to be learned must be explicable in terms of truth already known by the learner—the unknown must be explained by the known.

(5) *Teaching* is AROUSING and USING the *pupil's mind* to form in it a desired conception or thought.

(6) *Learning* is thinking into one's own understanding a new idea or truth.

(7) The *test* and *proof* of teaching done—the

finishing and fastening process—must be a RE-VIEWING, RE-THINKING RE-KNOW-ING, and RE-PRODUCING of the knowledge taught.”

The “Seven Laws of Teaching” deals with the oldest and most changeless of the arts. The material which it presents can never be out of date. Not so, unfortunately, Dr. Gregory’s next book. This was a contribution to the development of one of the youngest and most rapidly changing of the sciences, if we may call economics a science. “A New Political Economy” was, as the author states in his preface, “the product of years of combined thinking and teaching, and is offered as a modest contribution to the growth of that science which seeks to explain and promote the industrial progress of the world.” From the same Preface we may quote Dr. Gregory’s own conception of the nature of this contribution:

“It is an essentially new statement of the facts and principles of Political Economy. * * Even if the grander features of a great landscape do not change, one who surveys them from some new hill-top to which his business or his tastes have led him may be able to present them in new relations and with a fresh perspective. It is in these new relations and this new perspective that the author believes his book will be found to be

essentially new. The fresh views presented are chiefly the following:

1. The clear recognition of the three great economic facts of Wants, Work, and Wealth, as the principal and constant factors of the industries, and as constituting, therefore, the field of Economic Science.

2. The recognition of man, and of the two great crystallizations of man into society and into states, as presenting three distinct fields of Economic Science, each having its own set of problems, and each its own species of quantities or factors, to be taken into account in the solution of those problems.

3. A new definition and description of Value, as made up of its three essential and ever-present factors, forming the triangle of value and evidenced by the clear explanation they afford of the various fluctuations of prices.

4. The new division and distribution of the discussion arising out of these new fundamental facts and definitions.

5. The aid rendered to the reader and student by the diagrams and synoptical views. These, though somewhat artificial, will, it is hoped, be found to serve as a map to the territory to be traversed, and helpful to a better understanding of the true relations of its parts and divisions.

“It was the primary aim of the Author to present to his countrymen his views upon the

subjects discussed. He hoped thus to contribute to a better public understanding of a branch of knowledge of great importance to intelligent citizenship. He has given his book a form adapting it also to the use of the schools and colleges, partly from the force of habit, and partly because he recognizes the truth that, through the schools, ideas flow, by wide and natural channels, into the currents of the nation's life."

This book was indeed in its time a new political economy. It was widely used as a text book in colleges and universities throughout the country. Its stimulating and lucid discussion of economic problems was a real contribution to the subject. It is inevitable, however, that a book himself recognized this and was rewriting and of this nature should deteriorate rapidly. Dr. Gregory, expanding his book at the time of his death. We shall say more of the economic doctrines in the closing chapter when we discuss that revision. Meanwhile it is sufficient to say that in its time "A New Political Economy" was universally accepted as one of the standard texts for the study of economics.

When we turn to alumni reminiscences of Dr. Gregory's classes we shall see that the subject most frequently emphasized is history. This was his favorite study. He taught it by a method of his own which proved strikingly successful. His "Map of Time" and the accompanying "Hand-

book of History and Chronology" are now out of print. The plates were destroyed in the Chicago fire. As they had been designed primarily for use in his own class room, Dr. Gregory unfortunately never republished them. But the method they embody is so valuable and so characteristic that we may study it with profit.

An alumna of the class of '74 told me the following anecdote with some pride. She recently attended a lecture on the teaching of history given before some important gathering of educators. The lecturer dwelt upon the waste of effort in making young people memorize dates. He closed with the statement that it was doubtful if one person there present could give him an account of ten historical events with accurate dates. When the meeting was thrown open for discussion our alumna accepted the challenge, and assured the lecturer that if he had the time to listen she could date for him accurately one hundred historical events, or as many as he cared to ask for, although she had made no especial study of history for nearly forty years; that she had learned her history under Dr. John M. Gregory of the University of Illinois, using his Map of Time, and the dates and facts so learned had never left her.

Her experience was representative. To the students who learned history by Dr. Gregory's method chronology was clear, luminous with

meaning, and unforgettable. It is a mystery why more teachers have not made a similar use of the simple principle of visual memory.

The "Map of Time" was a notebook each page of which was ruled with divisions to represent a hundred years, grouped in decades. The accompanying "Handbook of History and Chronology" gave the principal historical events from 1500 to 1861, grouped by countries.

After a description of the chart with a brief discussion of the psychological principles involved, the preface proceeds to directions for its use:

"Only a few events in each nation's history are represented on the map, as it is not designed to fix upon the memory anything but a general outline of chronology. If this outline is retained the remainder of the history will easily assume its proper place within it.

"The more important events are indicated in large type, and these alone are to be learned at the outset, and to be used in class drills. Those given in small type are designed only to aid the student to locate the more readily the events learned in his study of the intervening history.

"The names of monarchs and rulers are given at the date of their accession to power. The names of eminent scholars, artists, and writers are in ornamental type, and usually occur at the date of their birth.

“The nationalities of the characters and events are indicated by colors. The English dates are indicated by the red color, either covering the whole type or drawn in a line beneath; the French, by blue; the Spanish by yellow; the German, by green, etc. The same colors, placed as a border around the words, are used to indicate other but usually connected nationalities. Thus, the Scotch dates are shown by a border of red, the Portuguese by a border of yellow, etc., as explained on the Chart. When, as in a war or league, or peace, two or more nationalities are united in the same event, the colors belonging to the several parties are used, the color of the dominant or victorious nation coming first. The events of American history are left uncolored and are placed in the lower part of the year space.

“The map may be used in connection with any good text book in history. It will usually be found better to pursue the study of each nation’s history by itself, for a century at least. A lesson may be given out embracing two or three of the events marked on the map. These events should be learned from this handbook and their place carefully marked on the chart. The intervening history may then be studied more fully in the text book in use. * * * At each recitation the lesson of the previous day should be in constant use, and every opportunity should be

taken to call attention to the chart, so that its outlines may be thoroughly fastened upon the memory. The success in teaching will be exactly proportioned to the clearness and permanency with which the charts are impressed on the memory."

Then follow some excellent suggestions for methods in review and exercises to fix the charts in the student's memory. The Preface, characteristically, closes with advice to general readers of history. To Dr. Gregory the class room was the beginning and not the end of study.

"History, wisely read, is one of the most fruitful sources of knowledge and pleasure. As it is ordinarily read, it simply amuses as a story, and leaves no clear pictures in the memory, nor great truths in the understanding.

"There are two prevalent methods pursued in the reading of history which are almost equally shallow and useless. The first is what a friend of mine calls 'vagabondizing in history,'—reading by snatches, here and there, as time favors and books present themselves, without any system or purpose. The second is the dogged reading of long courses in history, made up of heavy volumes, through which the reader plods, under a sense of duty, and from which he comes more weary than wise, glad that the book is finished, with a painful sense of having wasted time for nought.

“The best method of reading history is analogous to that of painting a picture. The true artist does not go hap-hazard to his canvas, and paint here an eye and there a foot, just as the fancy strikes him, or his colors may serve, without any plan of the picture to be made, or thought of the relative position of the parts. Nor does he begin at one extremity, as the tip of the finger, and go patiently from part to part as they come in course, finishing each part as he advances. Instead of all this, he produces first a sketch a mere outline of the proposed picture, determining the position and size of each figure and scene. Then, with this guiding outline, he works as his taste directs or the light favors.
 * * He visits again and again with his brush each particular feature, and retouches with increasing delight, till the masterpiece is done and each part stands forth distinct, beautiful, and harmonious.

“So let the reader who would transfer to his mind the picture of some great historic period fix in memory the briefest outline of the chosen period by noting the events which mark the beginning and end of the period, with a very few of the more prominent intermediate points. Let him carefully fix the dates of these events, and measure in mind the lapse of intervening times. Let him notice also some chief points of contemporaneous history, and take especial care to

find out the general geography of the region where the history transpired. This outline he may wisely go over two or three times, with fuller authorities, till the events begin to connect themselves into a consistent story, keeping carefully in view the time and place of each fact he adds to the outline.

“After this let him not confine himself to any rigid course, but let him read where the taste or want of the hour prompts him. Let him assume more and more the character of the investigator, following out the new historical questions which will constantly arise, and seeking to solve the problems which present themselves; sometimes tracing events upward to their historic causes, sometimes following them downward to their results; now pursuing some question of civilization, or law of politics, or art, to its rise in history, and now searching out some obscure historic allusion; but always, with every effort, keeping in mind the outline, and striving to complete the view of the central period. * * *

“The wise reader will always take advantage of the special desires for information awakened in his own mind, in the course of his reading—the sudden questions started by something he reads or hears. We never read so profitably, or with such intense interest, as when we read to satisfy a doubt, or answer our own questions. The knowledge gained in this way is the most

permanent and most productive of all our knowledge. It comes to a mind eager to receive it and enters at once into the practical beliefs and opinions.

“To render knowledge profitable and permanent, it must be largely mingled with clear and critical thought, and such thought is best attained by writing. Let the reader carefully write out the thoughts which are suggested by his reading, and his reading will become steadily more and more critical and productive.”

This was the theory and practice of the older type of historian. Dr. Gregory's assumption that humane scholarship should be a normal part of any rich and full life seems strangely at variance with the present academic ideal of intensive specialization. Dr. Gregory's teaching of history sought to awaken in the student a life-long interest in historical studies, to train him in a method of reading that should result not merely in knowledge but in wisdom. He conceived of scholarly reading as a recreation, not a profession.

Now the university class room too often points forward (if it points to anything beyond the semester examinations) to an increasingly narrow specialization in graduate schools which no sane man would enter if degrees were not a professional necessity. The older ideal was scholarship for the fullness of life. The modern ideal

sometimes seems to be scholarship for revenue only. We have forgotten that our magic letters, Ph. D., translated according to their original intent should mean Teacher of the *Love* of Learning.

It seems that the humanities have forgotten their high function of humanizing us, and are aping with ill success the research methods of the pure sciences and the professional values of the vocational studies. But if our pure sciences and our applied sciences free us from superstition and enable us to conquer the material means of life, what shall it profit us without the wisdom that is our human heritage from the past? The greatest and most truly practical need of our youth is guidance to wise citizenship and standards of serene, full living. Surely our troubled time cries out for more teachers of the type of John Milton Gregory to remind us of the truth expressed in Emerson's protest against over-specialization, that the farmer is simply Man, on a farm, and the scholar is simply Man, thinking.

For the evidence and illustration of how powerful such teaching may be, let us turn to the alumni accounts of Dr. Gregory's class room. The first is from an alumna whose life of distinguished usefulness in educational institutions (herself a member of a university faculty, and later the wife of an eminent scholar) gives added significance to her appreciation:

"I attended Dr. Gregory's lectures on history that fall (1873) given to freshmen to supplement the inadequate teaching of the public schools of that period. Never before had history seemed to me anything but the veriest dry-as-dust. Under his teaching, skeletons of centuries, half centuries and decades became real entities. Movements of human force emerged into factors of civilization. 'The fires of persecution of the old world lighted the shores of the new world to humanity' and our own history began. Later under his mastery history became wonderful revelations of life, and God moved in history.

"He simply had no rival as a teacher in the University of that day. Logic was somehow made clear and plain. Its syllogisms stood out in high lights by his apt illustrations of familiar and sometimes humorous premises. Political Economy, Mental Science, and History of Civilization instead of being abstruse and bewildering were so arranged in relative importance of subject matter as to be easily grasped and retained by his pupils. His wide knowledge of his subject matter, his mastery of bibliography, his knowledge of human psychology, his order and method and ability to enlarge upon essentials and above all his own love of learning, his thoroughness and grasp of fact made him preeminently the master. Yet his influence was always to impel us to search. While we felt our

own limitations in the presence of his learning, he encouraged and stimulated us, never discouraged us.

“After the lapse of many years I once had an opportunity of listening to him again. The subject of his address was ‘Property and Poverty.’ My experience in life had widened. I had heard many eminent speakers and was almost afraid to hear him lest my idol should fall. To my unspeakable satisfaction, however, my idol remained secure and my gratitude to have been his pupil supreme.”

“I studied History of Civilization under Dr. Gregory. I remember his charts of the centuries. They were divided into squares like a checker board, ten years on a line; all important events were marked in the year in which they occurred. I do not know to what extent, if any, this system had been used by others, but I think it has great merit. One remembers location better than bare dates, and the plan is of great assistance in enabling the student to trace the relation of events that otherwise might seem to him to have no connection.”

“Dr. Gregory was an ideal *teacher*. My own ability to see and grasp *the* point of an article or address is I think, in large measure due to his method of teaching. His definition of education, to my mind, has never been equalled. *Education is the cultivated growth of living pow-*

ers. An analysis of that sentence shows that every phase of the thought is included."

"Closer and dearer were the ties of class room and lecture hour. I remember with especial pleasure a course of lectures, in the early days, on French history, a subject on which Dr. Gregory was unusually informed. Each character was portrayed with masterly strokes. One saw Louis XI as on the stage. Richelieu's triangular face lived again before us. 'Le Roi Soleil' shone resplendent for a glittering, gorgeous moment—and was gone."

"As an educator and teacher Dr. Gregory had few equals in this country, and I believe no superiors. As president of the University he was not supposed to go into the classroom and teach, yet few days passed when he did not teach one or more classes. I was in his classes in History and Mental Philosophy. He had a most engaging and commanding personality. His knowledge and grasp of whatever subject he was teaching was exhaustive and profound. His style and method of presentation was clear, analytical and lucid. He was a great student of history. His memory of events, incidents, dates was marvelous, I have seen him go to the blackboard and outline a period of history, covering the whole board with names of territories, towns, rivers, lakes, and persons; all done from memory without a note or manuscript of any kind; and this he would do

without having read up on the subject taught or thought about it for years. After his charting of the subject, he would give his lecture, filling in the outline with facts, incidents of the travel of explorers, pioneer settlers, early government, political and industrial history of the territory, and everything necessary for a student of history to know, all given in so clear, concise, and entertaining a manner that the whole class would be held spellbound."

"Favored with advantages that placed me under the tutelage of many eminent instructors during my later professional and scholastic training, I recall no teacher that I hold in higher esteem than Dr. Gregory. He was a man of broad and comprehensive mind, wide in his knowledge and grasp of a subject and wonderfully clear and lucid in his method of instruction. I recall his lectures to our class in Political Economy at the University, and remember the crisp and epigrammatic sentences he used to impress on our minds its teachings. I venture not one of the old boys has forgotten the opening sentence in his lecture on Value. 'Value, gentlemen, always increases with the demand and inversely diminishes with the supply.' It was a proposition that made a good subject for argument outside the class room, but nevertheless a well remembered basic principle that entered into our business life in the years to follow."

“My first thought when Dr. Gregory’s name is mentioned is how far all of us in the University of his time failed to appreciate his greatness as a teacher and as an executive. That he was able, in spite of financial difficulty and much adverse criticism, to carry out his plans for the University is sufficient proof of his executive ability. His teaching was confined mostly to studies of the Senior year, and included in my time, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, and Logic. During my first term, in the spring of 1871 he gave a course of lectures on United States History to new students, but I do not remember how long he continued to do this. He usually taught by lecture, as he walked back and forth before the class.

“Autograph albums were common among the students of that time, and in one of them Dr. Gregory wrote the following: ‘I would be remembered by my students, not so much for the science I may have taught them, as for the greater science I may have inspired them to aspire to.’”

“As a student entering in 1869 and graduating in 1873 I was too young to appreciate Dr. Gregory’s remarkable power over men, and his administrative and executive ability as Regent; but as a teacher he still lives fresh in my memory. His influence over those pupils whom he taught was subtle but inescapable; it never failed though it might be obscured for years. His methods I

unconsciously — though imperfectly — absorbed, and after more than forty years they still live in my own work as a teacher.”

“Dr. Gregory made upon me the lasting impression which calm, ripe wisdom always makes on us, and I am glad to be one of the thousands of those who came under his influence to add my mite to the highest earthly reward within man’s reach, that of a successful and beloved teacher.”

“He was a deeply learned historian. He compared past with present, and drew conclusions time has generally proved correct. As I see him at this distance—forty years—I recognize a seer.”

“Dr. Gregory held that to learn how to obtain knowledge and to know the sources from which specific knowledge could be obtained was of more importance to a student than the knowledge itself acquired from text books during school days. This governed his practice, as well as his precept, in teaching.”

“It is a pleasure to me at any time to bear witness to the genius and skill of Dr. Gregory as a great teacher. I had the privilege of being enrolled in the first class of the University, and was a student there for the first two years of its history. During most of that time I was in one of Dr. Gregory’s classes. He had a singular power of awakening in the minds of us country boys a hunger and thirst for the knowledge and

culture that comes from books. To us he was an inspiration, and no leader ever had a more loyal and devoted body of personal followers than he in those early classes of the University."

"His ideal of education for usefulness to mankind and his love of learning for its own sake were deeply impressed on our minds."

Again we may turn to Judge Neely for a closing word that sums up many letters not here quoted. After a lifetime of travel and opportunity, he could still say "John Milton Gregory was the only man to whom I ever went to school that I felt was a great teacher."

One turns from these Alumni letters with a renewed appreciation of the possibilities of the great art of teaching. That a man may become a radiant center of thought and aspiration, so that the life of him goes out to the world in thousands of younger lives, and through them into still others that they touch, on and on into earth's great 'Tomorrows—what other art offers such immortality as this? Even the lesser guerdons of praise and fame are given to a great teacher in a form satisfying beyond all others; no impersonal appreciation from critics or historians but seems lifeless beside the simple loving memories of these loyal hearts, often more eloquent in their inarticulateness than any professional phrase-maker.

CHAPTER X

BUT let us return to the diary, and review some of the major episodes of Dr. Gregory's life at the University in their chronological order.

"July 6, 1870. It is my forty-eighth birthday. Many physical signs recall to mind the advancing years and warn me of the decline of life and power. Eyesight is much impaired, hearing has lost something of its keenness, the limbs are no longer so lithe and aches come more frequently and stay longer. Mental changes also begin to make themselves felt. Hope no longer paints pictures so bright, belief is less positive and assured. Perception is not so alert nor memory so ready. The religious life shows the same changes. It is less emotional and more reflective.

"During the spring I was invited to the Presidency of Shurtleff College which I declined after visiting them.

"July 6, '72. For some reason two years have slipped away since my last entry in this little book, and I now find myself writing on my fiftieth birthday. Half a century of life! It is much to be thankful for—something to account for. May my remaining years be better spent!

"In the spring of '71 I was a third time elected Regent of the University and this time without

debate and by unanimous vote. An appropriation was shortly after made by the Legislature to build Mechanic and Military Halls and to begin a new University building. Much of my time during the summer vacation was given to urging forward the work on these, and the college year to teaching. Life is very busy and sufficiently full of notable incident, but I feel little inclined to write the incidents. They consisted in visiting, presiding over or taking some part in conventions, labors at State and National capitals, public addresses here and there. Among the most important of these were the Convention of Industrial Educators in Chicago, last August, and the National Convention of Agricultural Colleges and Agricultural Society men in Washington in February.

“I have somewhat increased my worldly wealth during these two years, but not enough to inspire me with any fear of becoming rich. Had I chosen at the outset of life to make riches my aim I should probably have succeeded, but my observation has not taught me that riches are very desirable, at least in comparison with other things. There is a sort of pleasure in getting, as there is occupation in caring for and preserving, but expending wealth is to most men a painful parting with what they esteem. Thus we all moralize and then continue to practice against our preaching.

"I find it exceedingly difficult to write my religious history. I have preached frequently and with much pleasure and some acceptance, and I have enjoyed occasional hours of great religious peace; but in the main my mind has been too constantly occupied with other matters and religion has failed to exert its full power over my mind and heart. I attribute to this chiefly that I have been more perplexed with questionings about religious truth than formerly. A clear and full examination never fails to dissipate the doubt, but I have not always the time for such an examination."

The events of the next six years are given in retrospect. Apparently even the birthday record in the diary was being crowded out of an over-busy life.

"February 19, 1878. I am astonished to find how many years—busy and eventful years—have run by since my last entry in this book. In March '73 I was elected for the fourth time Regent of the University, but as my health was much impaired, I accepted only on the condition that I should be allowed a furlough during the Spring and Summer. Late in March I sailed with my daughters, M. and H. and my son, and with Robert Slee, his wife, sons and daughter, on the S. S. Victoria, from New York to Glasgow. We spent the Spring and Summer on the Continent, visiting Antwerp and Munich and spend-

ing a month at Vienna and the Weltausstellung to which I was an honorable guest of the U. S. Commissioner, Venice, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, (myself without the children these last three) Switzerland, and France. The last of August myself and son returned, leaving my daughters in Paris."

Dr. Gregory wrote for various periodicals detailed accounts of the Vienna Exposition. His interests were characteristically those of a historian and an educator. He dwells particularly on the educational exhibits, especially those showing the progress of the higher industrial education, and on the political temper of the European countries in so far as he had opportunity to estimate it. Some quotations may indicate the nature of his observations:

"Few of us who visited that most extensive and magnificent of World's Fairs, the Weltausstellung at Vienna in 1873, failed to notice the really wonderful exhibitions of educational work and apparatus. But only the most thoughtful took in the full significance of the display. How grandly it spoke for the nineteenth century! In no former century would such an exhibition of the work of education have been cared for, and in none could it have been given. And how nobly it spoke for the Austrian government, whose chiefs had made such large provision for this part of the exhibition! 'Group 26' as pro-

vided for in the plan of the Exhibition, embraced 'Education, Teaching, and Instruction.' Under these heads were designated to be included all 'arrangements and contrivances for the better nursing, training and rearing of children; their mental and physical development from the first days of their life up to school time; nurseries, kindergartens, children's games, exhibitions of school houses and school apparatus, means of instruction, books and journals of instruction, descriptions and illustrations of methods of instruction in, 1. Elementary schools, in which are included those for the deaf, blind, and idiots; 2. Middle schools, comprising Gymnasia and 'real Schulen,' or schools in which exact science and modern language are taught; 3. Professional and Technical Colleges; 4. Universities; and finally, 'The instruction of adults through literature, the public press, public libraries, and educational societies, and associations for instruction.'

"Thus read the official program, and in the Austrian and German sections at least, little of it was permitted to be a dead letter." (Here follows a detailed discussion of such features of the exhibits as are of special interest to the United States, concluding:) "The exhibitions of Belgium, France, Switzerland and England, though less in extent, point in the same direction. They show conclusively the large public interest in the

work of the education of the people, especially in the practical and scientific departments. Indeed, this entire World's Fair is as much an exhibition of the world's education as it is of its industries; and we shall see with what scientific thoroughness these European governments will cause it to be analyzed and described by their scientific commissioners. It is by no means a simple display of national vanity, of competition for a few prizes. It is a school of the world's arts, and its lessons are being read by sharp eyes and recorded by sharp pens for the benefit of the education of European peoples." (*dated, Vienna, June 6, 1873.*)

The Diary continues: "The summer of '74 I again visited Europe, to bring home my daughters and to procure casts of statutory and engravings for an Art Gallery for the University. Visited only England, France and Switzerland."

You, dear Alumni, have shown your appreciation of the significance of the undertaking so briefly recorded here. You saw that a memorial to represent such a life as John Milton Gregory's must be, not a statue or monument of himself, but some characteristic gift of value to the University for which his best years were given. Choosing with the unerring insight of love, you are building in his name not an administration building, not even a historical library, but an art gallery.

Never was a more unpromising community for an art lover than Illinois of the seventies. We have seen the bitterness and misunderstanding with which the prairie farmers met every attempt to embody cultural subjects in the University curriculum. They were determined, in the luminous phrase of Emerson, to be mere farmers, not Men farming. They asked for a stone, and were incensed when John Milton Gregory gave them bread.

If the opposition to such studies as history, literature, philosophy and languages was so intense and bigoted, what welcome would be given to sculpture and painting? The aesthetic sense of the community was rudimentary, and atrophied by disuse. We have only to consider the ways in which the daily life of the people expressed itself—the architecture bare and barn-like or meaninglessly ornamented with cupolas and scroll-work, bad in all its proportions; the monstrous haircloth furniture and garish carpet patterns, the chromos and family photographs in impossible frames—to realize how blind to all beauty and meaning of line and color must be the men and women who could choose such possessions. Moreover, it must be remembered that a great factor in shaping the mental attitude of the Middle West was the rural church. Whatever the denomination, the prevailing atmosphere was Puritanism. The Puritan distrust of the

imagination, the Puritan denial of visible beauty, the Puritan prudery towards any portrayal of the sacred loveliness of the nude body,—with all this the prairie farmer was indoctrinated from his youth up. All the solemn ugliness of a joyless creed had crippled his mind and heart.

It was with such men that John Milton Gregory sought to share his own joy in the great art collections of the old world. He was by temperament and education fitted to appreciate the best. In his frequent European trips he had lingered (with a historian's understanding and a lover's sensitive response to every appeal of line and color) in galleries, palaces and cathedrals, wherever great paintings and great sculpture were to be found. Returning to the crude, barren environment of the early University, he longed to bring to his boys and girls, many of whom might never leave their native State, some part of their human heritage of beauty. He brought home from each European trip photographs which he shared with eager groups of students at his evenings at home; he gave stereopticon lectures on all that he had seen; but this did not satisfy him. He wanted the University to have an art gallery of its own.

No use to petition the Legislature for an appropriation for art; they would have felt outraged at so impractical a demand. But Regent Gregory was accustomed to relying upon his own

resources when, as was frequently the case, he was determined to give the public what they did not realize they wanted. His gift of oratory made him always in demand as a public speaker. When he chose he could command high prices for a lecture tour. In 1874 he so chose, for a purpose. Throughout the state he travelled, speaking before large audiences. His subject was the history of art (especially of sculpture), illustrated by stereopticon slides. At the close of each he made an appeal for subscriptions to secure an art gallery at the University.

The public was kindled by the speaker's enthusiasm. Here is a contemporary newspaper report which may serve to represent many others: "We might fail did we attempt a review or analysis of as brilliant a lecture as your correspondent has ever heard. Never, we believe, did an audience, itself a fine one in quality, enjoy a lecture of nearly two hours with a keener appreciation. * * The history of the Fine Arts was clearly defined, from the earliest and rudest developments of sculpture in Greece down to the present time. They were also distinctly classified; but from the character of the lecture we are more than disposed to add one more to the catalog, that of oratory, or the power of mind painting in the most beautiful colors and forms, by the descriptive powers of the speaker, itself a fine art most beautifully illustrated in this case."

These lectures served the double purpose of awakening the State to the place of art in the life of a people, and of securing the funds for a gallery. The effectiveness of Dr. Gregory's eloquence is shown in the generosity with which his audiences subscribed to the Art Gallery Fund. At the end of the trip the subscriptions together with the amounts paid the lecturer were sufficient for a very good collection of casts, photographs and engravings. As the diary states, Dr. Gregory went to Europe at once (at his own expense) to select the casts.

He wisely limited the gallery at first chiefly to the best possible reproductions of great sculpture. The collection he bought was not large, but it was notably well chosen.* Students who became familiar with the masterpieces Dr. Gregory selected must inevitably form sound standards of taste.

The rest of the story has become almost a legend,—one of the few legends this matter-of-fact University possesses. Again and again it

*The catalog published in 1876 includes 58 full sized casts, 92 busts, full size, something more than 100 small busts, medallions, and reliefs, 53 engravings, and 221 photographs (chiefly of celebrated paintings). There was also a series of 288 historical portraits from French lithographs. The catalog gave a conveniently arranged compilation of facts and criticisms attached to each number, adapted to the guidance of elementary students of art. It may be mentioned that this compilation was the work of the Regent's two eldest daughters, one of whom was at that time writing art criticism for several New York papers, the other of whom was an art student.

has been told at Alumni reunions: how they all waited, eager, expectant, for the casts from Paris; how when the boxes were opened the casts were found hopelessly shattered—fit only for the limekiln; how Dr. Gregory and Professor D. C. Taft refused to be discouraged; how they worked together night after night at the endless task of fitting together the fragments—"And," says the legend, "there was a boy there, who helped his father and Dr. Gregory with the work, fitting the fragments together with the patience of love, watching the statutes grow into living beauty under his eager, skillful hands. That boy, the legend goes on, grew up to be a great sculptor whom the whole State is proud to honor." And Lorado Taft (for that was the boy) attributes the first impulse for his life's work to Dr. Gregory's efforts for an art gallery. We will let him tell of it himself:

"As a near neighbor and later a pupil, it was my privilege to see Dr. Gregory almost every day for ten years. Two incidents remain particularly vivid. The first was a wonderful lecture on sculpture illustrated with stereopticon views more beautiful than I have ever seen since. I was thirteen or fourteen and the enthusiasm of the speaker made my blood tingle! Nothing had ever so appealed to me. A new heaven and a new earth were opened up to my imagination. Unconsciously that night settled my fate. It is

hardly necessary to say that when the entertainment was repeated in Urbana, a few evenings later, I was in a front seat.

"The purpose of the lecture was a most novel and improbable undertaking: to awaken interest for a local art collection. Dr. Gregory's eloquence won the day, and all of the leading citizens of Champaign and Urbana, and particularly the Faculty, contributed a fund of several thousand dollars for the purchase of plaster casts and photographs of the world's masterpieces. Dr. Gregory went abroad and expended the money wisely, selecting with the judgment of an authority.

"My second great memory was a scene in the west basement of University Hall. Scores of strange-looking packing cases and bushels of fragments of plaster casts! It might have been Armageddon or the Last Judgment! Some few figures came forth from their shrouds intact, and a small number were but slightly damaged, but the majority were smashed apparently beyond redemption. The 'hope of Western art' lay in ruins.

"Not a bit of it! Dr. Gregory and my father put on their overalls and devoted hours every afternoon to patching those fragments together. I was fascinated with these magnificent puzzles and soon became an expert in finding 'fits.' Then Mr. Kenis, a little Belgian sculptor, was lured from Chicago and the work went merrily on.

The Laocoon group, now standing in the vestibule of the Auditorium, was in a thousand pieces. If you do not believe it, let a committee scrape away the paint, and you will find them!"

"When the collection was opened to the public it was the finest thing of its kind in all the West; a wonder to countless visitors and an inspiration to generations of students. Dr. Gregory on the platform and Dr. Gregory in blue overalls had made it possible."

If Dr. Gregory's labors for art had accomplished nothing beyond the inspiration of Lorado Taft it must be accounted of incalculable worth. For Professor Taft has preached the gospel of beauty in many ways. His creative genius has interpreted in great and enduring sculpture the ideals of his State. He has taught and lectured unceasingly, bringing to wide audiences his own vision of a democratic art, of beauty that is needful as our daily bread. Year after year he returns to his Alma Mater, and the students flock to hear him, listening to him, eager and enraptured, as he listened forty years ago to Dr. Gregory. So the torch of great teaching is passed from hand to hand, and the light of it never dies.

One thing only remains to complete the legend. It was at the suggestion of Professor Lorado Taft that the Alumni Association is giving to the University as their memorial to John Milton Gregory an art gallery.

The next entry in the diary on which we must comment is a less happy one. The entry for '73 recorded "During my absence the legislature of the State changed the law of the University reducing the Board of Trustees to eleven members and leaving the Regent off. The measure was unwise and gave rise to much trouble afterwards." The following year was uneventful. "1875 was spent in the usual hard work of the University. In the summer I visited California. It was intimated to me that my name was before the trustees of California University for the presidency." But the trouble appeared in due time.

"In 1876 I tendered the trustees my resignation. The internal difficulties had rendered my stay somewhat disagreeable, and I desired rest and time to complete some literary work—two or three books. The opposition to my resignation was however so strong that I finally consented to withdraw it."

The reasons for Dr. Gregory's desire to be set free from his somewhat thankless task at the University are not difficult to understand. No man could long endure the strain under which he was living. Consider the situation, even so superficially as this biography has outlined it. Here was pioneer work for University education in a state which as a whole had not the faintest conception of its own educational needs. The Re-

gent had for nearly ten years dominated the situation by force of his own insight and vision, his indomitable will, and his gift of persuasive speech. He had bent ignorant, opinionated men to his purposes. At each step he had had not only to form his own policies but also to undertake the Sisyphean labor of moving the minds of the public, the legislature, and the trustees. The lectures and addresses of which some record has been preserved would alone fill a book larger than this biography. There were many others of which no record has come down to us.

Added to this necessary propaganda were heavy administrative labors in a University growing rapidly and often sorely handicapped for lack of funds. The Faculty, splendid men as they were for the most part, often exercised to the utmost the Regent's tact, forbearance and diplomacy. Many men of many minds the University needed; not all of them were capable of adaptation to each other or of loyalty to their leader.

Finally, John Milton Gregory was a teacher. We have seen in the alumni letters how fully he gave himself to his students, in chapel, in the contacts of every day, in class room. What does it cost a man to enter so deeply into thousands of lives? Let anyone who has really taught for even one hour—not given a lecture, or let a class recite, but taught—let such a one say whether at the end of

that hour he did not know, in weariness and reaction, that virtue had gone out from him. He who has felt the keen joy of the struggle to think through other minds knows that for the true teacher the exhilaration of the class room is succeeded by the lassitude of nerve exhaustion. A few hours a day of such teaching as Dr. Gregory's might well use all the vital energy of a stronger man than he.

We read in the early chapters of the diary a record of persistent ill health:—violent headaches, fainting attacks, and the struggle of an indomitable will to force a frail body to its purposes. If such records ceased it was not because the writer had become robust. His health had indeed improved somewhat as he learned to adopt a wider physical regime with more exercise in the open air. But his family know that he had learned also to accept without comment a great many hours of exhaustion and physical pain as an inevitable condition of his life of persistent overwork.

Under his excessive labors at the University Dr. Gregory was breaking rapidly. He felt that physical old age was upon him prematurely. Now the University was developing successfully on the lines that he had laid down. It could go on without him. He felt that he might be permitted to withdraw while yet a little of his strength remained and give his last years to the

labors of productive scholarship which he ardently desired and for which his ripe experience had prepared him.

In 1876 the trouble which Dr. Gregory had foreseen from that unwise reorganization which removed the Regent from the Board of Trustees came to a head. An ill-advised usurpation of authority on the part of the Board bought to a climax the Regent's desire to resign. The unfortunate trustee system which many able students of academic administration regard as a distinct incubus to American universities was perhaps more to blame than any individual. Certainly ever since the reorganization which excluded Regent Gregory from the councils of the board there had been a spirit of faction in Trustees and Faculty which menaced the progress of the institution.

One of the points of friction was the question of salaries. Dr. Gregory was perpetually losing able men from his faculty to other institutions because the trustees would not permit him to offer the necessary salary increases. The Trustee point of view was indicated by the remark of a Board member when the salary of a distinguished research scientist was in question, that 'he could go up to Springfield and hire a dozen men at a hundred dollars a month who would do all the work that that fellow was doing and more too.'

In the financial difficulties of 1876* the trustees insisted upon a general reduction of salaries. The Regent protested vainly. When he was forced to yield he did so, saying 'Gentlemen, if you reduce salaries, you must begin with mine.' The Regent's salary at his own request was reduced by one thousand dollars and that amount distributed to the salaries of some of his faculty who could less afford the reduction.

By 1876 the Board of Trustees seem to have developed an exaggerated conception of their jurisdiction. When they went so far as to interfere with the Regent's decisions as to faculty appointments, Dr. Gregory tendered his resignation. He declined to retain responsibility where he had not authority. His own draft of his address to the Trustees has been preserved. It states the situation as definitely as is, at this distance in time, at all relevant:

"After taking the time for calm and dispassionate thought, I am forced to the conclusion that the late action of yourself and the Board of Trustees leaves me no alternative consistent with duty and self respect but to sever my connection with the University as early as it can be done with a due regard to the well being of the Institution itself. My strong attachment to my col-

*Of these financial difficulties, due primarily to the niggardliness of the legislature, the dissipation of the University Funds and the enforced sale of the Land Grant Scrip at the beginning of the University, are fully discussed in Nevins' "Illini" p. 83 f.

leagues in the Faculty and also to the great body of our students and alumni makes the step I now propose exceedingly painful, but my service ought to end when my voice is no longer of any force in the management of the University. When under the first Board I entered upon my duties it was distinctly understood that no members of the Faculty or important officers of departments should be employed without my concurrence and consent, and this common rule of American Colleges and Universities was never violated while the old Board remained in power. The change in policy which has repeatedly made important appointments without the concurrence and even without the knowledge of the Regent seems to me so dangerous to the future harmony and efficiency of the University that I cannot remain responsible for the result. You cannot believe that Mr. Cornell would have appointed a professor in Cornell University without the hearty concurrence or nomination of President White. Nor would such an appointment be made in any American University of which I have any knowledge.

"I will not be so unjust as not to recognize fully the kind and constant attention of the majority of the Board to my views and wishes, which must entitle them to my lifelong and most grateful remembrances. Nor have I been disposed to regard your own course as dictated by

other than an earnest if not always wise design to benefit the University. When others have publicly accused you of a desire to domineer, and of an unjust usurpation of the powers of the Board, I have freely expressed my confidence in your friendship for the University. But I foresee that the view you are inclined to take of your duties and powers must lead in the future to collisions with who ever may be at the head of the institution.

“Not wishing to injure by sudden resignation the University for which I have labored so long and hard, I take this opportunity to notify you that I shall offer a final resignation as early as it can be done without shock or injury to the interests concerned, and certainly not later than the end of the coming year. In the meantime I shall do all in my power to promote the interests of the University and to help prepare it for a change in administration.”

But the University, faculty and students, greeted the Regent's proposal to resign with a chorus of dismayed protest. However they might beset his daily path with misunderstandings, criticisms and objections, they loved and trusted him as they felt they could trust no one else. Their affection for him was genuine, though selfish. The University without him seemed to them inconceivable. Students and faculty petitioned the Board of Trustees to retain Dr. Gregory by any

possible means.* The press throughout the state urged his retention by any means.

*We quote from a report in a contemporary newspaper:

"When the Doctor's intended resignation became known to the students, they met in the chapel in general assembly and passed the following resolutions: 'Whereas, our Regent has expressed his purpose of resigning at the close of the present academic year; and Whereas, he has within the short space of eight years brought our University to a standard of excellence so high that it is without a rival in our State,—containing as it does in its library an almost unlimited source of knowledge; by its many departments giving equal facilities of learning to all, realizing its motto 'Learning and Labor' in its machine shops, farms and laboratories, giving refinement of taste by its art gallery, and stamping upon its students a true American character by its freedom of self-government; and Whereas, we have perfect confidence in him and feel that he will do all in his power for our good, and believe that it must take years for any other to thus gain our confidence and affection; and knowing that he has exerted a moral influence over the students of this institution which but few are capable of exerting; and, *Resolved*, that we hereby express to our beloved Regent our heartfelt regrets that he has signified his intention to resign, and that we earnestly desire him to reconsider his purpose and recall his notice of resignation.

Resolved, that the trustees be hereby requested to do all in their power to prevent the loss of our Regent.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be presented to Dr. Gregory, the faculty, and the trustees.'

"The Faculty held a meeting on Friday afternoon and as an expression of their sentiments adopted the following:

'*Resolved*, that we profoundly regret the resignation of Dr. J. M. Gregory as Regent of this University, and earnestly hope the proposed step may be reconsidered.

Resolved, that in his labors to build up this institution, contributing as they have so largely to its high success, we recognize that geniality, special fitness and marked ability which warrant us in guaranteeing to him our entire confidence and support.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be presented to the Regent and also to each member of the board of trustees.'

"These testimonials coming as they do from those who of all others should know Dr. Gregory best, speak volumes of his worth and influence, of his ability and character, and plainly indicate that nothing should be left undone in order to make the burdens of his positions lighter, his duties easier and pleasanter, that the institution over which he presides with such marked ability may flourish in the future under his administration as it has in the past.

Dr. Gregory had his university and his public with him so thoroughly that the Board of Trustees yielded to the pressure at once. After all, headstrong as they had sometimes been, they were at bottom really appreciative of Dr. Gregory's wisdom and firmness. They besought him to reconsider his resignation, promising that his cause of complaint should be removed.

Once again, as he had done at two other great crises in his life,* Dr. Gregory sacrificed his own desires and his own interests to the demands of an institution. He withdrew his resignation, and for four more years continued to spend himself unsparingly in the service of the University. The proposal to resign did much to clear the Regent's path, however. The diary continues: "In March 1877, I was again elected Regent for the sixth time. The internal dissensions and troubles of the University had disappeared with the removal of a troublesome professor."

In the same month (March, 1877) the University held its Decennial Anniversary Celebration. The occasion was fruitful of much good to the University. Many visitors from all parts of the State had an opportunity of seeing for them-

Our citizens, too, have an interest in this matter, and we but express the feelings of all when we say that anything necessary for them to do will be done in order to retain Dr. Gregory where he now is."

*When he gave up the profession of law to enter the ministry and when he gave up the State Superintendency to take charge of Kalamazoo College.

selves what was being accomplished. The Legislature attended almost in a body. Indeed, Speaker Shaw in his address laughingly declared that a quorum of both Houses was present and offered, if any further appropriation were needed, to order the rules suspended and the bill put upon its passage at once.

Unfortunately no copy has been preserved of Dr. Gregory's Anniversary Address. A Chicago newspaper reports it as follows: "Dr. Gregory delivered the Anniversary Address. He reviewed the progress of the University in a masterly manner and predicted for it a noble career in the future. We have heard the Doctor on many other occasions, but never when his thoughts were grander or his eloquence more persuasive."

The University Hymn* and the University Anthem which were sung on that occasion give the spirit of Dr. Gregory's aspirations for this University. Although he claimed for himself no more of the poetic gift than is the common endowment of every broadly cultured mind, verse writing was to him all through his life a simple and natural medium for the expression of his emotion. His University Anthem is still sung. Indeed, so slow have our Illini been in finding

*The University Hymn by Dr. Gregory is now out of print. We give it here, because it expresses so much of the spirit of the early University.

verse expression for their love of their Alma Mater that this remains the only University song appropriate to occasions more serious than a football victory.

UNIVERSITY HYMN

LEARNING AND LABOR

Down the line of struggling ages,
 Swells the cry for truth and light,
 Wrung from bosoms of the peoples,
 Dimly yearning for the right.
 Toiling millions, bravely bearing
 All the burdens of the day,
 Supplicate the ear all-hearing,
 For to labor is to pray.

Down the line of ages flaming,
 Glow the kindling fires of thought;
 Flashing 'neath the stroke of hammers,
 Light, as well as iron, is wrought.
 And the mighty schools of labor,
 With their problems deep and stern,
 Educate the toiling peoples,
 For to labor is to learn.

Thus the Father's wisdom giveth
 Answer, from the prayer outwrought;
 From the furrowed fields of labor
 Come the harvest sheaves of thought;
 And from out the lines of ages,
 Gleams the truth of Christly birth—
 Learning, incarnate in labor
 Shall regenerate the earth.

Then to labor and to learning
 Let us consecrate these halls;
 Lo! they come as God's strong angels
 Bringing light and breaking thralls;
 Kindling in us hopes supernal
 Of a glorious coming time,
 When the love and might eternal
 Shall work out God's will sublime.

UNIVERSITY ANTHEM

I

We hail thee! Great Fountain of learning and light;
There's life in thy radiance, there's hope in thy might;
We greet now thy dawning, but what singer's rhyme
Shall follow thy course down the ages of time?

II

O'er homes of the millions, o'er rich fields of toil,
Thy science shall shine as the Sun shines on soil,
And Learning and Labor—fit head for fit hand—
Shall crown with twin glories our broad prairie land.

III

And as generations, in the grand march of time,
Shall fill the long ages with numbers sublime,
Thy portals shall throng with the lowly and great,
Thy Science-crowned children shall bless all the State.

IV

Then hail thee! blest fountain of learning and light,
Shine on in thy glory, rise ever in might;
We greet now thy dawning; but ages to come
Must tell of thy grandeur, and shout Harvest Home.

The diary for these years records many public activities which served the double purpose of enlarging Dr. Gregory's sphere of usefulness and bringing the University which he represented into favorable public notice. In 1876 he writes: "Having been appointed one of the Judges of the Centennial International Exhibition at Philadelphia I spent the summer in that work. Was offered a nomination to Congress."

The latter entry we may pass with the brief note that Dr. Gregory had received several such

offers. They serve to indicate that his contemporaries recognized in him qualifications for political leadership. If he had not in his youth been deflected from his chosen profession of law by those unfortunate years in the ministry, there is little doubt that he would have risen to eminence in a political career. Perhaps, after all, we may regard the deflection as a fortunate one, since it led him to much higher usefulness as an educator.

The appointment of Dr. Gregory as Commissioner to the Philadelphia Exposition was a very natural consequence of his able report of the Vienna Exposition and his labors in inducing the State of Illinois to send a worthy educational exhibit to our Centennial. We have seen that he believed strongly in the value of world expositions as a means of spreading the knowledge of the best methods and discoveries in all forms of human progress. He had come to be recognized as an authority on this form of community education. In January 1878 he writes: "The past week Governor Cullom appointed me one of the two Commissioners from this State to the Paris Exposition. The appointment was unsought, and was accepted only out of deference to the wishes of the Governor, who believes me most likely of all the candidates to make a report of value to the State."

Dr. Gregory and his fellow Commissioner presented their report to Paris in the form of a

pamphlet (written by Dr. Gregory, who was a fine linguist) "L'Illinois. Sa position géographique, son étendue, son histoire, ses écoles, ses ressources, son agriculture, et sa grande ville de Chicago. Rédigé sous les ordres de Son Excellence S. M. Cullom gouverneur de l'état, pour l'exposition universelle de Paris en 1878. Par J. M. Gregory et O. R. Keith." On their return the Commissioners published a similar pamphlet, "Report on the Paris Exposition of 1878."

But Dr. Gregory's most valuable report was in the public addresses and periodical articles with which he busied himself on his return. He used his gift of vivid and popular description and interpretation to bring home to the entire State as much as possible of the vision which he himself had gained through his broad contacts with European progress. As we have observed, Dr. Gregory was a man of truly cosmopolitan mind who labored incessantly to free the State from the provincialism by which its development was so seriously handicapped. For him the great Expositions were a means to this end.

The next entry in the diary is an interesting one. We shall discuss it more fully in the following chapter. "In the summer of 1877 the Governor appointed me as one of the new State Board of Health!" Then, in February, 1878, comes the last entry in the diary: "Such is the mere outline of my history for these six years.

They have been full of hard work, and vicissitudes and experiences many of which would have been worth recording." Evidently the impulse to record-keeping was gone. The youthful tendency to introspection which had led to the beginning of a diary had spent itself, as the increasing perfunctoriness and irregularity of the entries indicates. After this Dr. Gregory sometimes kept notebooks of travel or observation, but no further diary.

The year 1879 was marked by two events which indirectly contributed to a renewal of Dr. Gregory's desire to be set free from the University. The most influential was Dr. Gregory's second marriage. Having been a widower for some years, in June, 1879 he married Professor Louisa C. Allen. Because she realized that the demands of the University were rapidly exhausting Dr. Gregory's failing strength, and that his one possibility of continued life lay in an immediate release, Mrs. Gregory urged his peremptory resignation. She insisted that the alternatives were a year or so at most of the University treadmill, versus many useful and happy years of quieter living and the scholarly labors with which he so ardently desired to round out his life.

In January, 1880 there arose a conflict, in itself a minor matter which served to increase Dr. Gregory's weariness of the Regency. A University president is the buffer for three semi-hos-

tile bodies, faculty, students, and trustees. At any moment, through no fault of his own, he may find himself in the midst of a state of war.

An act of the Faculty in changing the conditions under which officers in the student cadet corps were recommended for commissions in the state militia was resented by the corps. Their protest took the form of a military strike which terminated in the expulsion of six leaders. The Faculty seem to have been in the right, and the students as a whole were brought to accept their verdict. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* comments editorially (Feb. 26, 1880) "Surely it was a strange method of vindicating a young man's right to a commission in the Illinois State Militia for him to decline peremptorily to perform his duties as a military cadet until the alleged hardships in regulations concerning the conditions of promotion were rescinded. * * But the (final) action of the majority comports well with what we have all along believed would be the result of that sober, serious deliberation which has marked the course of both faculty and students since almost immediately after the first great mistake made by the latter, when, instead of petitioning for redress of the alleged grievance they threw down their swords and refused to do duty until their demands were complied with. We doubt if the history of American colleges can show greater moderation on the part of either faculty or stu-

dents than has marked the period of this émeute in Champaign, extending over six weeks during which the recitations and other college exercises have gone on as usual except in the military department."

A small matter, indeed; and yet one to increase Dr. Gregory's distaste for his office. Soon after this affair was satisfactorily settled he handed his resignation to the Trustees, this time couched in terms that admitted of no debate. The Trustees bowed to the inevitable expressing their appreciation of the Regent's services in a warm resolution.*

** Resolved*, That while this board accepts the resignation of Dr. Gregory, it is done with feelings of regret; and while compelled to lose his valuable services in the future management of the university, the board takes this occasion to express and extend to Dr. Gregory its appreciation of his past services in behalf of the University, the harmony and good feeling which exists between himself and this board, and the valuable services and affectionate devotion on his part to the welfare of this institution and all connected with it.

Resolved, That the Illinois Industrial University is, and ever will be, a monument to the name, fame, and genius of Dr. Gregory; that in him this institution has had, for over thirteen years, a constant faithful, and devoted friend to the cause of higher education, as applied to the practical and useful arts, as well as to a full and complete university system, which he has crystallized and incorporated in the system of education adopted by the university.

Resolved, That this board, in its own behalf, as well as in behalf of the people of the State of Illinois, desires, and does hereby express, its thanks to Dr. John M. Gregory for his long and faithful services in behalf of the university, and, while we are compelled to part with him, we shall ever remember and appreciate the services he has performed for the institution and the State, and shall ever follow his future career with feelings of affection and personal regard, fully believing that his future work will ever be, as it has been in the past, devoted to the moral and intellectual elevation of his fellow beings.

The Faculty expressed their regret in a similar resolution which may be represented by the following extracts:

“We profoundly regret, most respected and beloved sir, your proposed separation from us. Your official and personal relations with us have been most pleasant and helpful; your warm interest in our labors and genial good will towards us in the daily intercourse of life have been fully and in many ways made manifest; your prominence and success as an educator have cheered us onward in our arduous professional duties; your high personal virtues and sterling manly worth are impressed upon our hearts and will be cherished in our memories.

Resolved, That the Secretary be, and is hereby, directed to engross these resolutions and forward a copy of the same to Dr. Gregory and to the press.

The board also, with equal regret, received and accepted the resignation of Mrs. Professor Gregory, and ask the publication of the following expression of its judgment in the matter:

WHEREAS, Professor Louisa Allen Gregory, Preceptress and Professor of Domestic Sciences, has presented her resignation to this Board; and

WHEREAS, The long and faithful services of Mrs. Professor Gregory in her department has demonstrated the utility of a practical education for the women of the country; therefore

Resolved, That the board does hereby recognize the value of the services and ability of Mrs. Professor Gregory in establishing the woman's course of studies in this institution, and in bringing it to its present high perfection. We regret that she has determined to sever her connection with the university, and hereby extend to her our congratulations upon the success and reputation she has acquired in her department. And this board expressly extends its thanks to Mrs. Gregory for the work she has done for the woman's department of this institution, and the reputation she has established for this university.

"We gladly acknowledge and greatly appreciate your eminent services rendered the University.

"In the original conception of the institution, in the plans for its founding and inauguration, in the progress of its development, you have worthily won the high honor of being foremost and chief. What the University is now, what it has been in the past, and what it will be in time to come is very largely due to your wisdom, ability and zeal; and as a great and growing educational power in our land it must forever remain a grand monument to your memory."

The press throughout the State and educational periodicals throughout the country expressed their regret at Regent Gregory's resignation and their sense of the University's indebtedness to him.*

*Most of these comments merely reiterate what has already been said by Faculty and Trustees. They are of interest only as they indicate how thoroughly Dr. Gregory had won the appreciation of his public. One Chicago daily, however, irritated by an article in the *Farmer's Review* which recalled the old agricultural controversy, launched into a stinging retort. This, for its more specific summing up of Dr. Gregory's accomplishment, merits partial quotation:

"That Dr. Gregory won victories over the impracticable notions of some of the early friends of the university and a number of rural and city editors of the "Sir Oracle" type, must be conceded, but it was by superior knowledge of what his mission demanded, and by a logic which converted men to his own way of thinking. There is nothing for which he deserves more credit than for that clear-headedness and notable administrative talent by which he succeeded in piloting this institution through the shallows, narrows, and outlying reefs of the "lang-grant" inlet, where it was launched, out into the deep and broad waters of university life. The wisdom of

his administration is demonstrated by a comparison of the success of Illinois Industrial University with the pitiable failures made in the use of the land grants in many other States. In nearly every instance where they have attempted to confine the land-grant colleges to purely agricultural and mechanical work they have failed to secure any considerable attendance, farmers and mechanics preferring to send their sons and daughters where the liberal arts and sciences received a good share of the student's attention, even though they have to abandon the State institutions, where tuition is free, and pay their tuition elsewhere."

"The only colleges or universities endowed by the land-grant act that have given any tokens of success, as measured by attendance, are such as have made provisions for a liberal education; and the few that can make the best exhibit are the Western agricultural and mechanical colleges which have come the nearest to the model set by Dr. Gregory. This is not mere adulation, but shining fact, as any one can see by merely comparing the organizations and courses of study of these institutions. In view of such facts Dr. Gregory can afford to scorn the carpings of grangers who have never developed to the stature and breadth of educated farmers—the only class of agricultural writers that should presume to sit in judgment on his work."

"If there are but tens where there should be hundreds of industrial students here, surely the blame cannot be laid on the organization of the university, which provides beyond the demand, nor to the organized, who has not only prepared for such students, and called upon the public schools and citizens of all classes to send them here in far greater numbers, but has wisely added the attractions of the liberal sciences, ancient and modern literature, philosophy, music, and the fine arts to charm the youth of Illinois within the circle of industrial education provided for them."

CHAPTER XI.

IT was no part of John Milton Gregory's first intention to leave Champaign. He wished to live quietly in the roomy old house on John Street (now the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity) which had been his home since he came to Illinois, surrounded by the friends to whom he had become attached in his 13 years of regency, laboring on the books which he intended as the principal work of his remaining years, and giving his services to various important public movements in which he was a leader.

It seemed an ideal plan for the declining years of a man who had spent his strength in the public service. But if Dr. Gregory anticipated a life of scholarly leisure for himself anywhere in the State which had established so many claims on him as Illinois, he was speedily disillusioned. The eighteen months while he retained his residence in Champaign following his resignation contain a record of activities that would more than account for the time of most men.

First and most significant of these activities were his labors as president of the State Board of Health. The whole movement for State supervision of public hygiene was a new one in the seventies. In July 1877 the Illinois State Board of Health was organized. In 1878, as

the diary states, Dr. Gregory was appointed a member. His well known solicitude for the health of his University students and his agitation for sanitary and well ventilated school buildings both in Illinois and in Michigan made his appointment a logical one, although it was not usual at that time to include a layman on a board composed largely of the medical profession. The physicians associated with him were quick to recognize how comprehensive and constructive was his conception of public hygiene. In 1881 they elected him president of the Board.

The qualifications which Dr. Gregory brought to this office were perhaps more valuable than a medical degree. The task of the State Board of Health was primarily that of educating the public. The principles of health with which the state needed to be indoctrinated were principles known to every educated man. It was seldom that any medical problem was in dispute. The real problem was how to induce the general public to observe elementary laws of physical efficiency. Dr. Gregory entered upon the work of propaganda with characteristic enthusiasm and effectiveness. He wrote and lectured widely, with an acceptance which his medical colleagues, less practised as speakers, would have found difficult to gain. He used his wide influence among school men of the state to enlist the entire educational system in the service of the

public health in his campaign for fresh air. Finally, President Gregory addressed himself to his colleagues on the Board and through them to the balance of the state on behalf of the (then new) science of preventive medicine and sanitation. His inaugural address was published as a pamphlet entitled "Common dangers to health:—bad air—bad water—bad food."

All this seems obvious enough to us now. It was far from obvious even to the medical profession in 1881, nor has the need of thus educating the general public by any means passed yet. It was the particular merit of Dr. Gregory to enunciate clearly and ahead of his time the principles which have since won general acceptance.

Herein lies also a point significant of the development of the individual: President Gregory of the Board of Health is a far cry from the stern young ascetic who wrote in the early diary "It is better to starve the body than to kill the soul," who fasted until he fainted, who saw in his own ill health an admonition of Providence to prepare him for the Hereafter. Somewhat through the flying years of labor and achievement John Milton Gregory had laid aside like an outworn garment the Puritan asceticism of the generation to which he belonged, and had grown into healthy-minded and scientific practicality of thought which was religious without

the unwholesome taint of otherworldliness. His frailty of body no longer inspired him to musings on eternity; it brought to him now a keen perception of the handicaps of physical weakness, and an active determination to free his community from all preventable ill health.

Besides his labors for the Board of Health Dr. Gregory found time to assist several other worthy movements. He served as General Superintendent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, travelling extensively to supervise their educational undertakings. In 1882 he made a trip through the southern states to investigate the schools, colored industrial, in which the Society was interested, and especially the schools which were being established for the education of negro ministers.

The intention of the Society was to give these men an elementary training, which might ameliorate their ignorance and superstition and make them a valuable ethical influence among their own people. Such training was in all conscience needed! Mrs. Gregory (who accompanied her husband, to study the industrial schools for colored women) cherishes the memory of some amusing moments. A negro minister they visited at one of these schools, given the task of explaining the phrase "the reward of a righteous man" delivered himself thus: "My opinion am that the reward of a righteous man

am the reward of the rewardment of the gift of the Giver." This exposition at least made clear the immediate task of the negro theological training school.

Dr. Gregory's visits were eagerly welcomed by these schools. A quotation from a newspaper report of his visit to Nashville Institute may represent the tone of many others.

"Thursday morning, Feb. 1, Dr. John M. Gregory, Superintendent of Educational Work carried on for the colored people by the American Baptist Home Mission Society arrived. The Baptist denomination and the whole American people have reason to congratulate themselves on having such a man engaged in such a work. He appears to me to be endowed abundantly with every qualification for such a very responsible office. He has an active mind—a retentive memory—has been an educator all his life, is a perfect master of the whole subject, full of enthusiasm. Such instructive and inspiring addresses I never before heard delivered to students. He is withal a charming and companionable man. Mrs. Gregory, who is here with him, is a genuine worker in the same department."

Of Dr. Gregory's other activities during these months no complete account can be given. A few more may be mentioned merely to illustrate the range of his interests.

In July 1880 he read a paper on Land Grant

Colleges before the National Educational Association, of which he was then President. In the same month he addressed the Association of High School Professors on the subject "What is a High School?"

In September 1880 he delivered a paper before the annual meeting of the American Social Service Association on "The American Newspaper and American Education" (afterward published in the *Journal of Social Science*).

During the following years he gave a number of commencement addresses (among them that at the University of Michigan in 1882). He preached frequently at prominent Chicago churches and took an active part as a speaker in at least one political campaign. Finally he furnished for the *Present Age* (an educational periodical) a series of articles on educational problems. Perhaps the most influential of these was his article on college fraternities. His friend President Pickard of the State University of Iowa writes him on its publication—"I was especially pleased with your treatment of the College fraternity matter. Our good friend E. E. White writes in a very commendatory way of the discussion it has aroused. Purdue has had the matter in the courts, as you have seen."

Although Dr. Gregory's life during the year following his resignation from the University can scarcely be called one of leisure, as even this

incomplete account indicates, his health was steadily improving. Partly this was due to the release from the strain of the University, partly to the skillful care of Mrs. Gregory. With her professional training in hygiene and dietetics, she devoted herself to studying the problem of her husband's health and giving him precisely the diet and regime of living best adapted to his particular constitution. Under her treatment the terrible headaches which had made his life well nigh unbearable gradually disappeared. Premature physical old age was arrested, and Dr. Gregory saw before him a prospect of many years of life with renewed possibility of active public service.

It was apparent that Dr. Gregory was not to be permitted yet to retire to the scholarly leisure he planned for his declining years. Already positions of important public service were seeking him. In 1881 there was a strong movement to secure his appointment as Minister to Italy. Governor Cullom, Senators Logan and Oglesby, and other prominent men wrote urgently in his favor to the president.

This was not the first time Dr. Gregory's qualifications as a scholar and publicist had caused him to be prominently mentioned for the diplomatic service. In 1877 there had been a similar movement to send him to Switzerland or Belgium. But one very essential qualification for

such position Dr. Gregory lacked: a large independent fortune. A foreign minister was expected to live pretentiously and entertain elaborately, spending many times the amount of his salary. Dr. Gregory had been, as he said in the diary, too busy with other things and not sufficiently interested in accumulating money ever to become a rich man. He was by no means the unworldly and impecunious type of scholar. He had secured by judicious investments an income that made him free to turn to a life of unremunerative scholarship when he chose. But Dr. Gregory had never felt that he could spare the time and effort to increase his fortune to the extent demanded by the diplomatic service.

Another form of public service claimed Dr. Gregory, however, January 16, 1883. February 24, 1882 he received a telegram from President Chester A. Arthur summoning him to the White House "for consultation in regard to the Civil Service Committee."

To understand the consultation we must recall briefly the status of Civil Reform in the year 1882. As the iniquitous spoils system multiplied its operations with the growth of the government civil list, there began a movement of protest which continued to gather momentum with each administration. The history of civil service reform might therefore begin almost anywhere. Indeed as Professor Fish observes in his ex-

tensive study* "a really comprehensive story of the Civil Service reform movement should be, not national, but international. It was not so much a local peculiarity as a manifestation of a stage of national growth. England was ready for the change before the United States and attacked and solved the problem, while we profited by her experience." p. 210.

But the same authority fixes somewhat arbitrarily the report of Mr. Jinck's committee to Congress in 1868 as the true starting point of reform in this country. This report "contained a thorough discussion of the existing service, careful summaries of the systems employed in China, Prussia, France, and especially England, and to it there was appended a bill intended to adapt the best points in these systems to American conditions." P. 211.

It was evidently through no lack of perception of the existing evils or of knowledge of their remedy that effective reform was delayed through three more administrations. In that era of corrupt politics Presidents and Congressmen came into office too badly tarred with existing practice to take any very bold steps as reformers. A man must have a clear record and the wisdom of the serpent if he is to tilt against machine politicians. Grant went so far as to ap-

*The Civil Service and Patronage, Carl Russell Frick, Harvard Historical Studies XI.

point an advisory board, under George William Curtis, which made a beginning of reform in the departments at Washington and the federal offices in New York. But an apathetic Congress failed to enact the legislation and appropriation for any further progress.

Nevertheless, a demand for civil reform was gradually developing in the public mind. In 1872 there was a civil service reform plank in the Republican platform. In 1876 there were similar planks in all the leading platforms. President Hayes in his first annual message urged Congress to support the Committee established by Grant and secured Dorman B. Eaton to write a history of the Civil Service movement in England. In 1877 the non-official agitation took shape in the New York Civil Service Reform Association which was supplemented in 1881 by National League with George William Curtis as President. In 1881 President Garfield was elected on the platform which called for a change "thorough, radical, and complete." The outlook was promising. But Garfield was a party man. He had used party methods to gain election. Professor Sparks says*—"Every active worker for Garfield in the campaign seemed to think himself entitled to an office. It was estimated that one-third of the working time of

*The American Nation: a history, vol. 23, National Development, E. E. Sparks, p. 187 f.

the President was absorbed by applicants for office, and that six sevenths of his callers came upon the same errand. Candidates waylaid him when he ventured from the shelter of his official residence, and followed him even to the doors of the church where he worshipped * * * *. If he had erred in adopting machine methods in a campaign he must pay the penalty. During his four months' term of office he made 390 appointments, of which 89, or nearly one-fourth, were to replace removals; Hayes, in his entire first year, made only 74 removals, or less than a tenth of his appointments." Certain changes which came out in connection with Garfield's quarrel with Conklin and the Brady trial further tied his hands as a reformer.

Indeed it seemed that the Spoils System had reached its zenith when Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office seeker.

In September 1881 Vice-President Arthur took the presidential oath of office. His past career as a party man gave little hope to the Reformers. Nevertheless he proved a loyal and effective supporter of Civil Service. Moreover, the time was ripe for it. The abuses of Garfield's brief administration and his assassination under circumstances traced to the Spoils System brought to a head the public demand for a thoroughgoing change. Even had his own principles been less genuine, Arthur was too

good a politician to oppose such a tide of popular sentiment. Within a few months after his accession to office, as we have seen, he summoned certain publicists and friends of the Civil Service (among whom was John M. Gregory) to a consultation at the White House. Out of these councils grew the Civil Service bill of 1883, drafted by Dorman B. Eaton and presented by George A. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, and chairman of the Senator Committee on Civil Service.

This bill became law under the President's signature January 1883. The commissioners therein provided for were immediately appointed by the President. His choice augured well for his sincerity of purpose. The chairman of the Committee was Dorman B. Eaton, whose long prominence with the movement made him the logical selection. The second commissioner was John Milton Gregory, a Republican, but never associated with the party machine; the third commissioner was Judge Thoman, a young Democrat from Ohio chosen at the suggestion of the Democratic Senator Pendleton.

There were many reasons why President Arthur should have thought of John M. Gregory for this office. They had been students together at Union College. President Arthur had therefore an old friend's acquaintance with Doctor Gregory's career, and knew him to be a profound

student of political science, an able and energetic administrator, and a man with a blameless political record. These were the qualifications most needed in the four Civil Service commissioners. As we have observed, the evils of the Spoils System were obvious to every candid mind and the principles and methods of reform known to every student of European Civil Service Systems.

The task of the commission was not experiment, but the actual introduction of as much reform as the corrupted habits of the country would permit in actual practice.

As soon as the first personnel of the commission was made public Dr. Gregory received a flood of letters of congratulations from public men and women to whom his appointment seemed a pledge of the President's sincerity in the reform. One of these may serve to represent many more:

Feb. 27, 1883.

"Dear Dr. & Mrs. Gregory,

It rejoices my heart so sincerely to learn that President Arthur had the discrimination to put our Illinois Scholar on the Civil Service Commission that I must do myself the pleasure to express to you that state of mind.

In these days of favoritism and political jugglery, an appointment like this, revives one's hope of the good time coming, and is a sort of first fruits most pleasant to the taste.

I hardly know where to send this, but think our mutual friend Miss Ransom will see it safely delivered.

In a few days I start on a tour of temperance organization to the Pacific Coast and the Territories.

Hoping some time to meet you, I am,

Ever yours sincerely,

(signed) Frances E. Willard."

The general press comment expressed satisfaction at the choice of commissioners if not enthusiasm at their undertaking. Indeed the only inauspicious note was the somewhat uncordial reception Commissioner Eaton gave his colleagues.*

Indeed it may be said at this point that Commissioner Eaton's unfortunate inability to cooperate effectively with the other members proved one of the most serious obstacles to the work in hand. Much of his dogmatic imperious-

*On this, and on the unconciliatory attitude revealed the New York Sun comments as follows:

"We observe that Mr. EATON has already manifested an unfriendly spirit toward the other members of the Commission. He told a *Times* reporter that he knew nothing about Mr. THOMAN and was not sure that he knew anything about Mr. GREGORY. "I did think," he added "that a man who has not been named would be appointed." He also remarked that if the gentlemen chosen were lacking in experience, the Commission would have great trouble in getting to work.

"As to Messrs. GREGORY and THOMAN, it is nothing against them that they are not yet so well known as WIGGINS, the weather prophet. If they happen to disagree with DORMAN B. EATON they may soon acquire distinction enough.

"The Civil Service Commission is not likely to be a tribunal of conciliation."

ness Dr. Gregory attributed to ill health. An assault upon him several years before had resulted in serious head injuries which at times incapacitated him for all work. Knowing this, Dr. Gregory bore with him patiently, and endeavored to spare him as much as possible. But it is evident that even the sweet reasonableness which seemed Dr. Gregory's second nature was sorely tried before his work on the Commission was completed.

LeRoy B. Thoman, the third member was a much younger man (32 years of age, to be exact) with little administrative experience. Moreover he was a politician and was at inconvenient times much occupied with his political fences in Ohio. This meant that when Commissioner Eaton was incapacitated Commissioner Gregory did the work of three men. During three long hot summers he remained practically alone at the office in Washington directing the labors of the clerical force, making out examinations, certifying appointments, and rendering decisions on the numerous puzzling cases which were continually coming to the headquarters of the Commission.

There are among his papers numerous letters from Dorman B. Eaton gratefully acknowledging the consideration Dr. Gregory showed to his infirmity. Excerpts from a private letter may indicate the state of affairs.

July 19, 1883, J. M. Gregory wrote to his wife, who was expecting him to join her immediately for his vacation; "This morning Mr. Eaton came into the office all broken down with a recurrence of the head difficulty resulting from the attempt to assassinate him ten years ago. He cried like a child. I soothed him all I could and got him to go home, promising to look carefully after business. He will go to New York tonight or in the morning and if he does not get better in time I may have to stay here a part of August. Poor man! I fear I have been too hard on him, not understanding his shattered condition. I am going over to see him and will write you again tomorrow."

In addition to these difficulties within the Commission there was unceasing pressure from government officials to discover some means of violating either the letter or the spirit of the reform. The Commissioners needed to be perpetually alert. The most seemingly innocent inquiry, the most apparently genuine appeal for a ruling in a novel situation was frequently found to mask the efforts of some congressman to place a constituent. Most politicians seemed strangely incapable of realizing that the Civil Service Commission was anything more than a pious fraud, intended to gain public favor for the administration without inconveniencing the spoilsman. On one occasion Commissioner

Eaton writes to Commissioner Gregory: "I'm glad you've found and stopped Blank's side door," Blank being an ingenious Congressman who had devised a truly Machiavellian code for giving the high sign to the appointing power whenever the papers of one of his candidates were certified.

But perhaps the greatest obstacle the Commissioners encountered was the ignorance and apathy of the public. The whole behavior of the country as represented in the press was characteristically American. So long as Civil Service Reform was material for campaign oratory they demanded it with enthusiasm. The Spoils System had been for decades the subject for endless complaint and indignation. When the reform became, as Dr. Gregory said, no longer a question to be agitated but a system to be enforced, their interest cooled. It takes patient effort to understand the working of the new system, to acquaint oneself with regulations, to tolerate inevitable early mistakes. Also, there must be appropriations to finance the new undertaking. Suddenly the Spoils System seemed a good old way, and the reformers merely impractical idealists.

The Commissioners travelled all over the country, supervising the working of the new machinery for examining candidates, lecturing, and explaining unweariedly. In this work of prop-

aganda Commissioner Gregory's gift of lucid and persuasive explanation served his cause well. The editorial comment wherever he visited were cordial to the Commissioner even where they are lukewarm toward the reform.

In spite of the obstacles within and without, the Civil Service commission proceeded on a career of solid if not brilliant accomplishment. The Commission of this country from the Spoils System to its present complete acceptance of civil service must necessarily be a growth process requiring time, and tolerance for its completion. The work of the first commission was regarded by those best qualified to judge as a successful laying of foundations.

Commissioner Gregory's own account of the work accomplished, was made public, in his address read at the meeting of the American Social Service Association, Sept. 6th, 1883. In February 29th, of the following year the commission made its first report to the President which he submitted to Congress with the following comment: "Upon the good results which that law has already accomplished I congratulate Congress and the people and I avow my conviction that it will henceforth prove to be of still more signal benefit to the public service. I heartily commend the zeal and fidelity of the commissioners and their suggestions for further legislation, and I advise the making of such an

appropriation as shall be adequate to their means."

The President's message of unqualified commendation marked an epoch in civil service reform. The experimental stage was ended. Thenceforward the work of this and subsequent commissioners was merely the perfecting of machinery and gradual expansion of its application. Contemporary newspaper comment indicates an appreciation of the significance of the Presidential commendation.* The Washington Star is typical of the rest.

The following year (1885) brought the reform to its final testing.

The first test may be said to have come with the accession of Cleveland, March 4th, 1885. If the civil service reform could survive a change of administration and a change of party, its future was assured.

Cleveland entered upon the presidency

*The first report of the civil service commission is largely in the nature of a discussion of the place and work of the board and an argument for its maintenance as a useful adjunct to the other bureaus. The document is a strong presentation of the situation and must make a good impression upon the country. The endorsement of the President is clear and emphatic. In transmitting the report to Congress he congratulates that body and the people on the results already accomplished by last winter's legislation; commends the zeal and fidelity of the Commissioners, and urges the granting of an appropriation adequate to the needs of the board.

There has been some talk of withholding such an appropriation, but the attempt would excite general condemnation, especially now in view of the explicit recommendations of the President based upon the good showing the commission makes of its work.

pledged to civil service reform. Any apprehension that may have been felt by Republicans were allayed by his first official utterances and his general policy. Of course, the civil service reform affected as yet a very small proportion of federal employees. But within its limits President Cleveland respected the authority of the commission. None of the ground already gained was lost.

A less important test was made in the following September (1885) when quo warranto proceedings were instituted in New York demanding that the civil service commissioners exercise their functions. The proceeding was too awkwardly managed to prove significant even as a test. The decision rendered sustained the commission and put an end to any hope of the Spoils-men that the charge of unconstitutionality might be used to obstruct reform. Indeed the whole case proved serviceable in the publicity it gave to the exact status of the commission.*

When the Commission was created there was an understanding that two of the three Commissioners should represent the party in power. As soon after Cleveland's inauguration as was possible without prejudice to the cause the two Republican Commissioners tendered their resignation. Certainly in the case of Commissioner

*An interview with Dr. Gregory in the Phila. Press, Sept. 6, 1885, outlined the facts of the case.

Gregory inclination as well as policy dictated withdrawal from the civil service. Willingly as he accepted the duties of this important position it was to him a not wholly welcome postponement of the scholarly labors he had had in view when he resigned from the University of Illinois. After some delay and consultation with both men, President Cleveland requested Commissioner Eator to withdraw his resignation. As the third commissioner was to be changed, it seemed desirable that at least one experienced commissioner should carry over into the new commission, Mr. Eaton as the original chairman seemed the logical choice. This decision was strengthened by the sincere desire of Dr. Gregory to be released.

Accordingly on October 12th, 1885, President Cleveland accepted Commissioner Gregory's resignation, in a letter expressing appreciation at his services and warm personal esteem.

CHAPTER XII.

THIS chapter is the story of the most significant achievement of a man's life, an entirely beautiful and productive old age, filled with happiness for himself, inspiration for all those who knew him, a source of good to the world not less than any of the years of his active public service.

With the close of his arduous and not entirely congenial labors as Civil Service Commissioner, Dr. Gregory once again turned eagerly to the life of scholarly leisure which he hoped was beginning for him on his resignation from the University of Illinois. Perhaps most University presidents, who are usually men of scholarly tastes caught in the administrative treadmill, look forward wistfully to freedom beyond retirement. It will be recalled that Dr. Gregory had often expressed a determination to take his release from public service before his frail health and advancing years should prevent the studies and writing which he wished to accomplish.

It is pleasant to know that Dr. Gregory's desire was at last fulfilled. As this biography has proceeded one cannot but observe how rich his life had been in service and in growth, how poor in freedom to follow personal inclination. Again and again in response to the call of some ap-

parent duty, or as he himself would have said, to the Will of Providence, John Milton Gregory had turned away from the paths of his own choosing to enter upon arduous labor in difficult situations, upon positions of perpetual anxiety and responsibility, taxing to the utmost the meagre physical strength which would have been an insuperable handicap to a man of less indomitable will. For him indeed the best was yet to be. Freed from all cares, and with that freedom a return of such health as he had not known for many years. All the gifts that life can offer and developed capacities to use them. Perhaps the greatest gift of all, to have in his retirement a power and authority transcending that of any official dignitary, in the love and reverence of hundreds of men and women, some of them his former students now holding positions of importance in the affairs of the time, who turned to him for counsel and inspiration, making his quiet home seem like a place of pilgrimage. Such was the old age of which this chapter can give but an indication.

It had long been Dr. Gregory's wish to make some important contributions to the then rapidly evolving science of economics. His former book, *Political Economy*, used extensively as a college text book, was subject to the limitations of a text book. He wished in revising it to change its character altogether and make it an

expression of his mature conclusions, based on fuller study and observation not only in this country but in Europe, where the social sciences were then farther advanced than with us. Accordingly he began the labors of his retirement with a prolonged stay abroad.

While Dr. Gregory by no means shared the then general assumption that all scholarship must bear a European trade mark (preferably "made in Germany"), much, he held, might be learned by a discriminating observation of what older civilizations were doing; not the less that sometimes the conclusion to be drawn was warning rather than example. We have seen how in dealing with the problems of agricultural education he was guided by his first-hand knowledge of what was being done in that field in other countries, together with a judicious perception of what adaptations were necessary in applying foreign examples to prairie farm conditions. Dr. Gregory seems to have possessed in happy combination the cosmopolitan mind and a sturdy homespun Americanism. He was at once the inheritor of the culture of other times and lands and the son of the worthy Puritan tanner and farmer of Chapter I.

The observations of such a man during four years of European life must have a unique interest. Fortunately the records are fully preserved for us. The main results of the trip, em-

bodied in the manuscript of his book, the present biographer must leave to the comment and evaluation of a trained economist. But there were many published letters written for current periodicals, on subjects of general interest. And most characteristic of all, perhaps, there were diaries and notebooks, extending over the entire trip, filled with intimate jottings. Thanks to these, the biographer may once more step aside and let Dr. Gregory tell his own story, in a series of diary extracts.

"1885. Dec. 11. Left Washington at 10. P. M. to take S. S. Belgenland, Red Star Line, for Antwerp. We (wife and I) had made up our minds to spend the year in Europe to rest and work."

The next entries, accounts of the voyage and of Antwerp, we omit. Indeed space permits us to give only a glimpse here and there of the diaries. Published entire, they would fill a volume. We quote passages that give the general itinerary and chronology of the trip, and a few of the passages that record some characteristic observation or interesting experience.

From December 28 to June 1, 1886, Dr. and Mrs. Gregory remained in Paris. Here he records some interesting impressions of eminent men.

"May 7. Heard this P. M. at the Collège de France M. Renan the famous author of *La Vie*

de Jé su. He still wears the long hair of his earlier portraits, grown thin on the top of his head, partly bald, but his face has so widened out with fat as to change the expression entirely. He talks much of the time with eyes shut as if by the fat, sometimes half opening them as if to assure himself of the presence of his audience, and now and then opening them wide as by a great effort and showing their bluish gray color for half a minute before closing them again. His voice has a husky sound as one might expect from a form so obese, and his words were often lost to my poor French ears. He was upon his favorite theme, the Hebrew Scriptures, and he seemed to be marking the part taken respectively by the Elohist and the Jehovist in the foundation of the Scriptures. I understood him to class the Jehovists as monotheists and as more recent than the Elohist, and to give their date as in the 6th or 7th century B. C. He occasionally mingled some witticism with his remarks, as I judged by the smile which for a moment lightened his heavy face and the responsive smiles of the auditors near him. He spoke in Salle No. 3, a small room seating 40 or 50 people. It was nearly full."

Other Collège de France lecturers are commented upon in less detail. "Listened yesterday to M. Eugene Guillaume on Greek Art in the time of Phidias.—Today we heard in the morn-

ing M. Mascart on Electricity, and admired the easy fluency of his explanations and the simplicity and success of his experiments." Then another lengthy entry. "In the afternoon we helped to make the crowded audience which welcomed M. Guillaume Guizot, fils of the great minister and historian. M. Guizot is a man of apparently 50 or over, a thin face, gray eyes, and dark hair combed smoothly over his bald head. Attempting to assume an easy attitude in his chair he only succeeded in seeming awkward and ungraceful. His theme was the influence of the Bible upon English literature. He affirmed strongly the familiarity of the English people with the Bible, quoting a recent case in which in a political speech an allusion was made to the cave of Adullam and David's experiences there. The allusion was at once understood and replied to by the English statesman concerned. All classes, public speakers, writers and others use Bible facts and language with the certainty of being at once understood. He asked if such allusions would be understood in France with a tone that answered in the negative. The French knew Molière and caught at once any allusions to his characters, but Bible allusions awakened no recollections."

Some of the political episodes of the time are accorded passing mention. Many names appear, some of them forgotten, some of them,

Clemenceau for instance, destined for future distinction. But more space is devoted to records of long conversations with intelligent men in all walks of life on labor problems, and on the religious situation in France. One of Dr. Gregory's especial friends was Père Hyacinth, of whom he writes "The Père is doubtless at this time one of the most conspicuous men in France, at least in its religious circles. He has large views and masterly eloquence in expounding them; but his hopes of reforming the Catholic Church from within or of producing from the Catholic Church a Gallican Church analogous to the Anglican seems at the present quixotic." There are records of long conversations with him on free trade, overproduction, unemployment, and kindred topics. The Frenchman seemed to have the optimism of youth, hopeful of immediate accomplishment. Dr. Gregory had the calmer optimism of age; or perhaps the optimism of the historian. "To his question as to the possibility of finding a solution of the difficulties of the times, I replied that I had not enough audacity to attempt to prescribe or predict the solution; but that I had much faith in the power of the millions to reach a resolution which no one mind might be able to discover. Each one of the million meets practically his share of the problem and in solving that helps to reach the final and general solution. The Père said he

recognized the processes of evolution in society, and preferred evolution to revolution. I answered that evolution has also its crises, and that these were generally if not necessarily attended with dangers and suffering. When the new order of things is reached, the suffering disappears and perhaps higher good results and an increase of happiness and wellbeing."

Dr. Gregory himself spoke and lectured for various French institutions, sometimes at first, lacking confidence in his platform French, with the aid of an interpreter, but more often trusting to his own mastery of the language which he spoke (as he did several other languages) with unusual correctness and ease, but with the slight faults of accent (more apparent to himself than to others) of one who has acquired languages in later life.

It is worth noting that all Dr. Gregory's children received their language training and a year or two of travel in Europe. He writes approvingly of the Swiss custom of exchanging children between families living in French and in German speaking cantons. Languages were to him important tools, best acquired in youth, and travel an indispensable part of education. Yet he comments severely upon the abuses of cosmopolitanism. " 'I would rather be a beggar in Paris than a millionaire in New York.' It was an American girl of 24 at our table who made

this strange and extravagant speech. She has been alone in Europe for four or five years, some of the time in school, but for the last year studying art in Paris. Mem. 1. It is a dangerous thing to send girls to Europe to be educated. If not remarkably strong in intelligence and patriotism they are sure to be dazzled by the attraction of these old world cities, especially Paris, and to grow into a contempt for their own country, its language, manners and institutions, of which they frequently know very little. The education of travel is one thing, education in a foreign land is another. No better supplement and finish to a good home education can perhaps be found than a year of travel in foreign lands. The observation of other peoples, their customs and civilizations enlarges the mind. But to send a boy or girl of unformed mind and manners abroad to be educated is to make foreigners of them. It transplants them to a foreign soil and exposes them to the danger of making foreign ideas and institutions their standard of measurement, and instead of judging foreign countries and civilizations by the thoroughly understood standards of their own, they learn to judge their own by the foreign."

The first of June Dr. and Mrs. Gregory left Paris, and after a brief stay at Fontainebleau proceeded to the Swiss Village of Oron, in the Canton de Vaud. Here they remained for

several months, in lodging with a Madame Michot, the widow of a teacher. The two American guests entered at once into the life of the family, and of the village. The diary is full of records of walks and talks with the village schoolmaster, quaint customs and festivals, and comments on the Swiss life and manners as affectionate as they are discerning. Dr. Gregory had always an especial love for the Swiss. The little village of Oron seems to have felt his attitude and taken him to its heart. One of the most touching passages in the diary is the account of his Fourth of July in Oron.

“July 4, 1886. Sunday. The morning was bright and the dark mountains of Savoy and the snow peaks of the Dents du Midi outlined themselves against the clear southern sky with a distinctness and grandeur which we had seen but few times during our month in Oron. Dressing ourselves leisurely we went down to our breakfast at seven-thirty, half an hour later than usual. We noticed an unusual gathering of the members of the family in the lower hall who smilingly greeted us with their cordial *bon jour*. Entering the *salle manager* we saw a large bouquet upon the table and the room was decked with ivy and ferns. In the bouquet was a large card on one side of which was written “*Aux Etats-Unis! Les meilleurs souhaits et vœux de prospérité de la Pension Michot.*” The family

evidently enjoyed our surprise and pleasure at this unexpected compliment to ourselves and our country." But the chief celebration was yet to come. "At dinner we found added to the decorations of the table a large round cake frosted in a beautiful and ornamental pattern with sugar and with a center surrounded with red drops within which, in sugared letters, was inscribed "4 *Juillet* 1776." The cake was sixteen or seventeen inches in diameter and had been ordered expressly from Meudon for the occasion. We were as much astonished as we were delighted at the extent of the affair." Dr. Gregory made a graceful speech of acknowledgment in French (no one in the Pension understood English). "The speech was received with silent emotion, and Madame was observed to wipe away a tear. Our *Notaire* read an account of the battle of Sempach from one of the Swiss papers, as in keeping with the patriotic feeling of the hour, and the cake was cut. There have been more brilliant celebrations than this to-day, but none with truer feeling."

Another passage gives an account of the ceremony of hanging a wreath on the highest part of a new building, a folk custom which Ibsen has made symbolic in his "Master Builder." "Since our arrival in Oron carpenters have been at work a few rods from our pension preparing the frame for a barn, or grange, as it is called.

The day before yesterday a great gathering of the men of the village was made for the raising. About four P. M. as it drew near completion we were warned by our *Notaire* that some ceremony was about to take place. We hurried to the spot, and soon saw a group of women and girls advancing along one of the roads carrying in their midst a small evergreen tree, four or five feet high, with a bouquet of flowers in its top, decked with colored ribbons of paper, with small mirrors and cornucopias tied to the branches and some festoons of eggs strung on strings and colored alternately white and green, the collors of the Canton of Vaud. A small flag of Switzerland crowned the tree. At the same time another small tree similarly decked and escorted approached by another road. We were told that it was an old custom to crown a new building with a bouquet presented by the relatives of the proprietor. As the trees came near they were welcomed with shouts by many of the men. In the meantime the owner was bringing a large basket loaded with bottles of wine. When at last the long ridgepole was lifted to its place, the evergreens and bouquets were placed in holes at the two extremities, and the wine was freely circulated among the men scattered over the frame or gathered on a temporary floor in one of the lofts. A little speech prepared by our Notary was read by one of the men, thanking the neigh-

bors for their assistance and congratulating the people on this addition to the village. A great ado, one would think, to be made over a new barn. But the end was not yet. All the men assisting went to supper at the house of the owner, after which, as the day was not yet ended, they returned and worked till nightfall, putting on the rafters and the strips to hold the tiling. In the evening a *fête* was given by the owner to the men, it being the rule to invite one man from each family of the village. The *Maitre* and the *Notaire* both went from our house, and did not return until a long time after midnight. From the reports we inferred that the *fête* consisted largely in drinking and speechmaking and singing. The *Maitre* gave us next day some comical specimens of the speeches.

But the carpenters, not yet content with their laurels, next day decked their hats with some of the ribbons from the bouquet trees and furnishing themselves with an old accordion and a triangle for music, marched about the village, stopping at every house hat in hand as a company of beggars, and receiving at each place either eggs or a small piece of money, which we understood were to be used to continue their merrymaking at the auberge or drinking saloon. All this extraordinary mummary was received by the people as one looks upon an established

usage which one may laugh at but cannot seriously contest."

Although one may fancy a touch of hereditary Puritanism in this somewhat austere comment on the folk merrymaking with its accompaniment of wassail, the next paragraph renews the record of Swiss industry.

"This morning at five o'clock (some mornings I have heard them at half past four) the carpenters were at their work again. The legal day of labor, established by law of the national assembly, is *eleven hours*, but these men seem to work nearly if not quite from sunrise to sunset. The *Maitre* tells me that they work by the day, receiving two francs a day and board. Common farm laborers, he says, receive one franc a day and board. In the cities, according to him, the carpenters get five francs a day and board themselves." Indeed with such a record of long hours and small reward, is it not a matter for praise and wonder that some vestiges of the earlier industrial system were preserved, when masters and men rejoiced together in their work and found some times of merrymaking preserved for them by old custom?

There is a detailed account of the Swiss military system, in which Dr. Gregory points out that this small republic provides adequately for its own defence without the burden of a standing army, and suggests such adaptations of their

system to our own needs as we did indeed find necessary, thirty years later, in our R. O. T. C. and S. A. T. C.

Indeed throughout these diaries, in entry after entry, he points out the significance of the forces which were tending all too clearly toward the world war. "Europe" he writes "seems always on the brink of war. Scarcely a month passes, sometimes for months not a week passes that the European papers do not contain speculations on the chances of peace and war. The movements of the three Emperors, of Germany, Austria, and Russia, and of the English Prime Minister are watched and chronicled, with their supposed significance as to the continued peace of Europe. There seems to be a general belief that the Continent sleeps continually over a volcano, and safety is rather hoped than expected." He concludes, "It would be hard to determine whether this constant danger of war in Europe as a *cause* or *consequence* of the immense standing armies and war preparations of the European peoples. The pretence of course is that the armies must be maintained to be ready for use in case of war; but it remains equally true that the war spirit is perpetually fostered by these enormous armaments, containing tens of thousand of ambitious officers to whom a great war is a harvest time of promotion, honors and glory. The consciousness of their own and of

others' readiness for a conflict keeps each government on the watch to prevent the aggrandizement of others or to insure their own. Each is suspicious of the intentions of the others, and anxious to conceal its own. Diplomacy is a sort of enforced duplicity full of pretended frankness and real deceit. The armies are traditional—a legacy of the barbarous and bloody past—and it seems impossible to break the tradition or dismiss the legacy. It seems to me almost self evident that the general disarmament of the European powers would remove nine tenths of all the fears and chances of war. Armed men fight where men unarmed only debate. France and Germany without armies would soon forget their hates."

August thirtieth Dr. and Mrs. Gregory left their friends at Oron and proceeded to Bern. Two months more were spent in Switzerland, chiefly in Bern and Zurich, the records of which we must omit. Dr. Gregory's valedictory comment on Switzerland gives, however, so fine an expression of his attitude as a traveller that it is worth quoting in its entirety:

"The traveller," he writes, "should come abroad with the fixed purpose to find all the good he can in the countries he visits. He will see enough evil without looking for it. He ought to guard himself against counting as bad or barbarous every institution differing from his

own. Every people has a right to be judged by its own recognized standards and every institution and usage by its adaptation to the people, times and circumstances among whom and which they exist. It is easy to say in a wholesale way that the English are stupidly proud, the French heartlessly frivolous, the Germans coarse and brutal, the Italians treacherous and deceitful, the Spaniards ignorant and superstitious, and so on through the map of Europe, Asia and Africa: but it is not so common, and to many does not seem so smart or witty, to find in the proud Englishman the reserve of the man who respects himself and his country and refuses to make professions which belie his feelings, whose sterling honesty of feeling hates the foppery of overfine manners, and prefers to seem the blunt sensible man he is rather than put on airs in order to pass for what he is not. And so also it is only the deeper student of national character who finds in the gay Frenchman a heroic devotion to high ideals, the broadest philanthropy, and the purest and most ardent patriotism, united with a genial *bonhomie* which inclines him to make all around him happy; or in the coarse seeming German the conscious regard for truth and duty, the spirit of honest fair dealing with his fellow men, the strong, patient devotion to the task he has assumed or which has been imposed upon him by others, and the grand strug-

gle for genuine excellence in whatever art, science or achievement his diversified talents and tastes may incline him to.

“I know as yet too little of other European peoples to speak with confidence of either their superficial or profounder qualities, except perhaps of the Swiss, among whom five or six months passed not in their hotels but in their homes give me the right to form an opinion. That they are brave, patriotic and liberty-loving their history attests, and history in this case does not lie. We have found them also honest, industrious, religious, kind hearted and fair minded. Made up, as Switzerland is, of Cantons borrowed from France, Germany and Italy, its several populations bear strong marks of the nationalities to which they once belonged, and whose languages they respectively retain. But their Republican institutions and the absence of titled families have given a strongly democratic character to the people which favors individual development. But the restricted territory and too small and insignificant nationality of the Swiss deprives them both of the grand theatre and the great causes and occasions which seem necessary to nourish and develop great men. I have heard the Swiss speak as yet of but one of their present statesmen as great in their estimation, Louis Reichomet, a member of the Federal Council of Seven.”

From Switzerland Dr. Gregory wrote for the

American papers a very striking article "A Republic without a President," in which he praises highly the Swiss system, and states that in its important features it is preferable to our own.

At the end of October Dr. and Mrs. Gregory left Switzerland for Italy. After a brief stay in Milan they proceeded at once to Rome, where Dr. Gregory had many friends among the artist colony. Mr. W. W. Story, the American sculptor, was an old admirer of Dr. Gregory, and welcomed him to the delightful studio life of the city.

Here, as in Switzerland, Dr. Gregory's diary is filled with passages that tempt one to quotation. Perhaps the account of his presentation to the Pope may serve, since our space is limited, to represent the rest.

"Last week, March 26, we were presented to the Pope, Leo XIII. The etiquette of the papal court requires not only that those to be presented shall be in full dress, but that each shall kneel and kiss the ring on the Pope's finger. I accepted the conditions and complied as I would with any similar conditions at the court of the king of Siam or China. At noon my wife and I were at the Vatican and ascended one marble staircase after another, passing one of the Swiss Guard posted at the head of each stair, until we reached the floor on which the Pope lives. Here we entered a magnificent anteroom where were

several attendants mostly in rich and antiquated uniforms, one of the most conspicuous being a full suit of crimson silk. Laying aside hat, overcoat and wraps, we were passed on through another large and richly furnished room to a third still richer, where we were ushered into a reception or throne room. We stood in line in two rows along two sides of the room, and on a signal that the Pope was coming all knelt while the spiritual monarch of Catholic Christendom walked in attended and partly supported by some of his Cardinals. Looking around as he advanced alone towards his chair he said smiling 'O les Americans, benit.' As soon as he was seated the high officials who had kneeled with all the others arose and went forward and kneeling before his Holiness kissed his ring and after a few words of conversation they arose and took their positions on each side of his chair to serve as interpreters. Then the other visitors were called forward one or two at a time and kneeling were introduced and remained a moment or more in conversation, making such remarks or requests as they pleased and receiving such reply as occurred to the Pope to give.

"As one after another went forward in their order I found ample opportunity to study the man who claims to be the Vicar of Christ and the infallible head of His Church. Leo XIII has the poor, thin features of a man of eighty or

ninety, and the pale bloodless complexion of a confirmed invalid. I said at once to myself, 'the man is in his dotage,' and I was strengthened in this opinion by the evident desire of his interpreters to aid him both to understand and to reply to the remarks made to him. They fairly put words into his mouth. The whole scene was pitiful and significant."

If this account seems somewhat colored by Dr. Gregory's temperamental dislike of display and formality in religious observance, his ingrained protestantism, some of the accounts of his conversations with his good friend Father O'Connor, Rector of the American College, show the true historian's tolerant understanding of institutions and their possibilities. After one conversation on the labor problem, he comments, "I was pleasantly impressed with the ideas and spirit of the Rector, and fancied I saw one of the elements of Catholic power in the politic attention the papacy gives to great public movements, and the high assumption that it is the right and function of the Church to pronounce upon such questions in the interests of society and the souls of men. Were they not bound to a theory of the duty of implicit submission to the views of the Church, the Pope might indeed be, what he desires to be considered, a sort of universal father among the peoples, pronouncing upon great social and pub-

lic questions from the altitude of Christian doctrine."

Dr. Gregory writes with great admiration of Humberto, probably the most democratic sovereign of the time. He quotes with approval the saying of the Italian republicans that in case of their success, Humberto should be the first president.

In May Dr. Gregory left Rome for Siena, to attend his second meeting of an international society for the promotion of peace, a subject on which he felt deeply, although he had little faith in the immediate realization of its ends. But the righteousness of a cause rather than its prospects of success was for Dr. Gregory the consideration determining his attitude. He quotes a liberal paper, *La Tribuna*, which saw in Bismarck's phrase '*Macht geht uber Recht*' the doom of the peace movement, and comments "More shame to Bismarck that he should use his great talents to perpetuate the false and barbarous instead of promoting the true and good—that in place of Germany against Europe he should not have chosen Germany for the sake of Europe." *La Tribuna* concludes "Very probably the day in which there shall remain only two men on the earth, there will be two last combatants who will perish in the last strife." To this Dr. Gregory replies indignantly, "Let the author pray that this end may come quickly and the earth be re-

lieved of a race of beings who with the power to become angels of civilization choose to become devils of barbarism!" He writes an incisive analysis of the effect upon the European situation of the standing armies, concluding, "Outside of these two nations (France and Germany) whose bitter hostility and warlike intentions are known to all Europe, the presence and sight of the great armies foster on the one hand just such a bad and dangerous philosophy as *La Tribuna* expresses in the article quoted, and on the other a sullen desire to begin the conflict or see it begun.

* * These extraordinary and gigantic armaments constitute the real danger of the hour in Europe."

After a month more of travel in southern Italy, Dr. and Mrs. Gregory went to Planegg, a little village near Munich, for the summer, and near the end of August returned to London.

The diary entries in England concern themselves chiefly with Dr. Gregory's observations on the unemployment situation, which was at that time particularly serious. His discussion on this question, as he had studied it in France and in America as well as in England, occupies several of the articles he was supplying regularly to a number of periodicals in the United States during this year.

He was much interested in the single tax theory which was arousing much discussion at

this time. This interest may perhaps account for the discussions of the English system of ground rent which the diary records at some length. One of these may serve as illustration.

“Sept. 28, 1888. Today on my way to Forest Hill to deliver the opening lecture before the Tudor Hall Ladies School, I fell into conversation in the cars with a gentleman who gave me some facts of the hardships of the land system. (1) In the northeast of London there is a tract of land which within the memory of this generation was a market garden and paid to its landlord, the Duke of Devonshire, a rent of 15 pounds a year. Now there are sixty-five houses on this ground whose owners pay a ground rent of seven pounds each. The noble landlord has never paid for a brick of all this improvement, but for the improvements which others have made he takes his 455 pounds or \$2250 yearly, and when the leases expire he will if he chooses take possession of all the buildings his tenants have erected. 2d fact. The gentleman says he knows a man who holds some land under Lord Camden. On this lane his grandfather erected buildings and established a business. His father carried on the business in turn, building it up by hard labor and good management, and finally the son, the present owner, succeeded to the property and business. Bethinking himself lately that his lease had only three years more to run, he asked for

the terms of its renewal, and was told by the noble landlord that he must pay a fine of 2000 pounds and grounds rents increased for some of the premises 60 pounds a year. There was no escape or redress. His fathers and he by their enterprise and industry have made the property valuable, and now he is looking around for the \$10,000 to retain his own property and business." Other similar facts are recorded, and their confirmation by Dr. Todd [an English educator and scholar, Dr. Gregory's warm admirer and friend].

Such entries, interesting in themselves, are for us significant as indications of Dr. Gregory's attitude and interests. His economic reading and research *is* always supplemented and illustrated by such first-hand information. Again and again we have seen the records of Dr. Gregory's social gift, his keen enjoyment of good conversation and his ability to obtain it from men in all walks of life. It has been said of him that it was impossible to talk with him for five minutes without learning something of value and being made to feel that one had, in exchange, given him also valuable and interesting information. Few men ever attain to Dr. Gregory's breadth of scholarship in the world of books; but rare with the rarity of genius are the scholars who can learn also as he did from Illinois prairie farm boys, French ecclesiastics, Swiss villagers, and casual acquaintances in a London tram.

John Milton Gregory was no respecter of persons. He held with Marcus Aurelius that one could live well "even in a palace," and names of birth and distinction are by no means excluded from the diary. Yet he seems to have found the opinions of his humbler friends more characteristic and worth recording. To the schoolmaster of Oron la Ville he devotes three pages, to Lord Aberdeen, at whose home he was entertained, three lines. The diary contains a characteristic comment on the influence of a titled aristocracy upon English life.

"After much observation" he writes "it seems to me that the general influence of this fact of an hereditary titled aristocracy on English character and society is degrading and injurious. It was to be expected that an institution of a more barbarous age surviving in an age to whose ruling spirit and ideas it is utterly alien and antagonistic would tend to retard progress and to keep alive the more barbarous spirit and ideas to which it was allied. Such in fact is the influence of the English nobility. And this influence has been strengthened by the more modern element of great wealth which a shrewd use of their power as landlords has given them, and by the retention of their powers as hereditary legislators. The hereditary nobility of the continent are frequently if not generally poor, and except in the case of a few semi-royal or ducal families ruling over

hereditary states, have lost all political power. One rubs against German barons and Italian counts and French marquises in the commonest houses and society without even knowing that you touch nobility until someone mentions it afterwards. But the English hold their nobles in higher regard, and though they may detest the man for his vices, they do not forget to mention their acquaintance with him as a lord.

“With the true feudal instinct the average noble accepts the notion that he is something better because of his birth and he instinctively looks down upon all of meaner blood and expects as his right their deference and attention, and on the other hand he assumes, if pleased, an air of condescension; if indifferent, of careless if not brutal disregard of the inferior; if angry, of tyrannic abuse.

“Those of the untitled who find themselves raised by wealth or office above others, naturally imitate the lords and practise in turn the condescension of tyranny which is dignified by lordly example.

“Looking from the bottom upward, another set of facts comes into sight. With the answering feudal instinct of the serf the common Englishman seems to accept superiority of blood and birth. The natural outcome of this is an inveterate and almost universal toadyism. Someone has pronounced the English a nation of toadies,—

that the Prime Minister toadies the Queen, the lords toady the ministers, the commons toady the lords, and so on down through all the ranks of society. The Englishman is naturally plain-hearted, practical and plucky, and it has taken centuries of this titled aristocracy to wear so deep a rut in English ideas and character.

“Matthew Arnold said in his essays ‘It is the chief virtue of a healthy and uncorrupted Aristocracy that it is in general in this Grand Style. That elevation of character, that noble way of thinking and behaving, which is an eminent gift of nature to some individuals is also often generated in whole classes of men by the possession of power, by the importance and responsibility of high station.—The Roman Aristocracy did it—the English Aristocracy has done it.’ This is perhaps as good a statement as has yet been made of the argument for aristocracy; but its very clearness and explicitness make its refutation the easier. The itemized good affords the captions for cataloging the failures and shames of any aristocracy known to the history of the world. This is the argument of the Grand Style. But since the days of Jesus, the grand style of men have come as often from the workshop and cottage as from the palace and halls. The talk of ‘grand style’ is doubly dangerous to any known aristocracy. It challenges a comparison which no aristocracy, not even English, can endure.”

There are interesting pages devoted to the English Church situation, the dissenting churches, and London preachers, especially Dr. Joseph Parker, the successor of Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Spurgeon had at that time recently withdrawn from the Baptist Union in London, charging it with harboring members of "unsound and heretical doctrine." This had precipitated a crisis in the theological evolution of the time. On this Dr. Gregory, whose own theology had become with the years increasingly liberal, commented with a historian's appreciation of the nature of the intellectual evolution taking place.

One more passage may represent Dr. Gregory's English experiences; the account of his visit to Mrs. Annie Besant. Dr. Gregory was interested in her as an exponent of a certain type of English radical economic thought.

"May 3. This afternoon, under the guidance of Mr. Cameron I called upon Mrs. Annie Besant, the Socialist writer and speaker. Mrs. B. is a woman of about fifty, with a strong but not handsome face, a keen but not disagreeable look, showing much thought and care. Mrs. Hahn tells me that Mrs. Besant was the wife of a country clergyman, a brother of Walter Besant the novelist. Having lost her faith in Christianity she declined to partake of the Communion, and her husband, fearing to be scandalized by her absence, gave her the choice of alternatives, either

to commune or leave his house. Taking her little girl she came to London and found employment to support herself and child. After some years her husband, fearing that she was teaching the child atheism, sued for its care, and after a trial in Westminster, in which she eloquently but unsuccessfully pleaded her own cause, the child was taken from her and given to the father. She now edits and publishes in connection as she told me with Mr. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette* a little Socialist paper named *The Link*."

"Mr. Cameron, having introduced me, withdrew, and Mrs. B. who was evidently pressed with business turned to me and asked the special points on which I wished to consult her. I spoke of my recent studies in Social Economy and Socialism and said I had remarked some striking differences between the socialism of different countries. I then spoke of the Socialism of England and the several sects it presented."

There follows an interview with Mrs. Besant, too long to quote, in which she discusses the socialism of Cairns, Hyndeman, and William Morris. Dr. Gregory concluded "Mrs. Besant is herself one of the most sensible and clear headed Socialists I have met." The next evening he attended a meeting of the Fabian Society at her house. "Mrs. B. had explained that the society is mainly one for discussion. It is made up of Socialists of the higher and more intelligent sort,

and furnishes lectures for the more popular and aggressive Socialist societies. It publishes also tracts for popular circulation."

Dr. Gregory seems to have been only moderately impressed by this group of young intelligentsia, so thoroughly advertized in literary circles by William Morris, and later by Bernard Shaw and Wells and the Webbs. He comments "The members I judged were either government clerks or young professional men. The essay of the evening was by a quite young man, Harold Cox. The topic, 'The Unit of Government' was scarcely socialistic' and was treated superficially with many fanciful and illogical ideas. The discussion that followed was able and free, Mrs. Besant making by far the best speech. But there was little said of Socialism except in reply to my questions. The Fabians will never set the world on fire."

The last entry from England was an account of a meeting with Mr. Gladstone, at the International Conference on Foreign Missions. "Mr. Gladstone refused all importunities for a speech, but he and Mrs. Gladstone standing on a step shook hands with the visitors as they crowded by. In my turn I took his hand, saying 'One of the millions of Americans who love the name of Gladstone.' His smile brightened as he replied, 'We are very grateful to the Americans.' After the crowd had passed I returned and seeing Mr.

Gladstone standing by himself in the open room I stopped for a short talk, which I began by saying 'Mr. Gladstone, next to England and Ireland I think America will be benefited by your work. Having millions of Irishmen among us who naturally sympathize with their kindred in the old home, every movement that affects Ireland here thrills through myriads of Irishmen among us, and of course deeply affects our public life through the Irish vote.' 'You are right,' he replied, 'The Irish ought to be able to devote themselves to their new country and become good citizens, but cannot while their kinsmen remain under oppression.' 'Intelligent Americans sympathize with your movement.' 'We know,' he replied 'that the judgment of the civilized world is against us for our treatment of Ireland.' 'True,' I answered 'and in that judgment most intelligent Americans concur whether they like the Irish or not. But the blow you have struck and the words you have spoken can never be silenced; in the end your views must prevail.' 'I am not in haste,' he said, 'I do not expect immediate success.' A look of sadness came over his thin and wrinkled face as he added 'I should be glad to be out of it. My sight is failing, my hearing is affected and I have lost my voice. It sounds strange to my own ears as I talk to you. Only when I speak in public it seems to come back to me.' "

The next entry is dated Bonn, Germany, Sept. 1, 1888, and is merely an itinerary. "On the 25th of July, after 11 months in England we left Horley for Bonn, coming by steamer *Batavia* from London to Rotterdam, and there, without landing, by steamer up the Rhine to Bonn."

Here the diary records almost cease. Dr. Gregory seems to have spent ten months in Bonn, happy but uneventful months, occupied chiefly in reading and writing a first draft of his book on economics. There is a record of a short trip to Constantinople, and some weeks of sightseeing in Greece accompanied by his friend Genadius, formerly a professor at the University of Illinois. Then the next record, again mere itinerary: "After ten months in Germany and eighteen days in Paris, we reached England again, June 21, 1889, taking up our residence for the summer at Redhill, Surrey, four or five miles from Horley, our old stopping place."

There are several pages of careful analysis of the general economic situation in England, and a closing comment: "In many respects England presents the best field of study for an American traveller. It is a foreign land and has its unbroken connections with the past; but its ideas, customs and institutions so nearly resemble those of his own country that the American easily understands and interprets them, while the common language opens at once to him the current life

of the people around him. The differences of dialect and manners keep him awake to the fact that he is in a foreign land, without impeding the curiosity which they excite."

The diary closes with a brief record of the homeward voyage. Dr. and Mrs. Gregory returned to America in September, 1890. A passage in one of the published letters shows how eagerly the homecoming was anticipated. From Germany Dr. Gregory had written, "At length my task approaches completion and I begin to count the months which must pass before my return home. Over three years of lingering among these old world peoples has given the chance that Burns asked 'to see ourselves as ithers see us,' and if it has not from many a blunder freed us and foolish notion, it has taken some of the gush out of our patriotism to the advantage of its real strength. I never thanked God more earnestly for my birth in America."

Here ends the series of diaries, covering nearly a half a century of life, which have formed the basis of this biography. There remains however one more little record book filled with the small clear script, one which more even than the diaries reflects the rare charm of Dr. Gregory's personal life. Although it contains a narrative covering ten years, a word here at the date of its beginning may suffice; for this little record book is the autobiography not of the great personality we have

followed through the other five diary volumes, but of a baby.

You, Alumni, know, as do we the children of his lesser family, that John Milton Gregory had a genius for fatherhood. He studied all his children with a rare combination of the tenderest affection and the most objective detachment. It so happened that during these later leisure years, reading with much interest a certain psychologist's account of his methods of studying a child's first efforts at speech, Dr. Gregory decided to write something himself on the subject, as an educator. He began to collect material, and as his own daughter was the most convenient infant at hand for purposes of observation, she became the subject of the experiment. But where the psychologist had merely presented a list of the infant's sounds and syllables, Dr. Gregory with characteristic affectionate whimsicality wrote his record in the form of an autobiography by the baby herself. In quaintly stilted adult language she is made to give an account not only of her first attempts at sound and the progress toward articulation and later toward a vocabulary, but also her observations and criticisms of the strange world in which she finds herself.

A few quotations from the book may give a touch of its quality: "March 14. I am today fourteen weeks old, but owing to three weeks illness from which I am now happily recovered I

am by no means as strong as I ought to be at this advanced age. My head is too heavy for my neck, and though I easily roll the head about on the pillows I cannot hold it erect as I would like and indeed frequently attempt to do. I ought in justice to my respectable parents to record the fact that they are seldom if ever so unkind as to attribute my outcries to bad temper. They have the good sense to see that if I have the colic I must necessarily express my views and feelings over the situation in such language as nature gives me. But to go back to my story, which I left quite unfinished. When towards the close of my third month I began to recover, and feel like myself again, I commenced to notice that my father made motions with his lips and uttered sounds of various sorts directed to me. I had already learned to return smile for smile; and now something suggested that I might talk back to his frequent friendly speeches. Perhaps my cries, extorted from me by pain, had revealed to me my power to produce sounds with the organs of speech; but the cries had been involuntary or at least convulsive, and wholly different from the cheery note Papa gave me; and so I began to mimic the movements of his mouth, and at last a fortunate gasp of breath produced a slight audible sound. The seal was broken. I discovered the secret that I had a voice controllable by my will. Such was my first step in the art of speech.

I am not yet able to choose my words, or sounds rather, but make such sounds as chance to come. My father is noting as carefully as he can the character of the utterances and he thinks I use chiefly faint aspirate or vowel sounds such as *ooo*, *ee*, *ae*. Some articulations appear, made chiefly by the palate and the back part of the tongue, including the consonant of *y*, *w*, and *a*. He has found no labials or dentals among them."

This careful observation extends from the first sounds of the infant to the lists of words used by a child of ten. However, the passages most characteristic of Dr. Gregory are not merely the pages of accurate observation, but the whimsical interludes wherein appear the exquisite imagination and courtesy of spirit which can allow even a baby of fourteen weeks to have her own point of view. For instance, the passage above concludes: "I dare say that not even Papa understands a word I say. But then we are quits, for I certainly do not understand a word he speaks. For all practical purposes between us my language is exactly as good as his, and with the highest respects for his linguistic attainments it must be allowed that mine comes nearer genuine Volapuk, or the universal language, than his. There are millions of people in the world who would fairly understand my meaning and would not get the faintest idea of his."

The baby is early credited with a philosophical

turn. "If any one wishes to know my opinion on the grave question, 'is life worth living?', I say frankly, yes; provided one can have plenty of milk and not too many clothes. Two pleasures seem to me worth all others: 1. sucking milk from a bottle; 2, getting all clothes off and kicking my feet. A third pleasure, that of seeing pretty colors and moving objects, may also be counted among the pleasures of life by babies of taste and a certain cultivation." But a later entry shows less unalloyed optimism: "Somehow life begins to unfold troubles of which I never dreamed. In my mouth, which is still toothless, an uneasy feeling and slight pains keep me constantly in search of something to rub my gums with. Little hurts and aches disturb my enjoyment, and although my pleasures increase my happiness lessens. I wonder if it will always be thus?"

One more entry may close our account of the little book; though indeed it is hard to choose among so many passages of whimsical charm:

"Today I am eleven months old. How time creeps—baby time! They say that old folk's time flies. That's because they don't wish to be older, I fancy. I do. Their lives lie mostly behind them: mine lies ahead.

"I have made the journey around my box several times and am thus learning to walk, an achievement I am very anxious to make, for I

find it very dull and stupid staying where I am put. Where I can once move as bigger people do, I can get hold of many things which no one thinks of letting me have now. Papa shakes his head rather ominously when he thinks of my walking, as though he anticipated trouble. He must have forgotten how he felt when he was a baby and had to stay like a cabbage head where he was set. Fortunately human growth and progress do not depend on the permission of parents or other of our superiors. Some mothers would like to have their babies stay babies forever, and not a few of the higher rank do not like to have poor people get "uppish" as they call it."

"Mamma thinks the reflections in this autobiography are too philosophical for me, but Papa tells her that they are the proper reflections to be made, and if I did not make these I made others perhaps quite as good for anyone can see that I am often in a deep study. Who can guess what a baby thinks?

"Papa and Mamma sing to me various curious songs when they wish me to go to sleep. Papa's songs are mostly without words, or with words above my comprehension or beneath my notice, like 'Ding, dong, bell; kitty's in the well' and a lot of similar stuff. But he sings one which never fails to command my attention however tired, fretful or sleepy I may be. I sink at once into rapt silence, and seek to penetrate the pro-

found meanings and follow the sublime flights of fancy and imagination. It runs thus:

High diddle de diddle, the cat's got a fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon;
The little dog laughed to see the craft,
And the dish ran away with the spoon.

There is real poetry for you! Take a baby's judgment for that. And why should not babyhood have its own standards of taste as well as that older infancy which you call manhood? If you laugh at my taste, the angels may laugh at yours with just as good reason."

On his return to the United States Dr. Gregory bought a house near Hyattsville, a suburb of Washington, intending to spend his old age there. He always preferred to make his home outside a city. Gardening was his recreation, and in the many labors of a small country estate he found a wholesome relaxation from the long hours in his study. But the climate of Maryland did not prove healthful. After a series of illnesses in the family, Dr. Gregory disposed of the Hyattsville home, and went with his wife and daughter for a visit to his brother in California.

Returning to Washington at the end of a year, he became interested in a plan for a cooperative apartment house which he discussed with several of his friends. Each family was to plan its own apartment, and cooperate in the ownership and

management the whole. Such an arrangement, usual enough now, was at that time almost unknown in this country. Indeed, apartment houses of any kind were still rare. Washington had only one, an apartment hotel. Dr. Gregory and his friends were, however, accustomed to apartment life from their travel in other countries, and under their competent direction the first modern apartment house in Washington was built.

The Concord, as their venture was called, must at any time have been remarkable for the interesting society it afforded. Besides Dr. Gregory there were in the original group of shareowners Dr. Sheldon Jackson of the Alaska Missions who had been a college mate of Dr. Gregory at Union, General John Eaton, former United States Commissioner of Education, Lieutenant General Ainsworth, Judge Stanton C. Peelle of the Court of Claims, the two daughters of Postmaster General Amos Kendall, and a number of other men and women who were well known for their distinguished public service. Shareholders meetings, usually held in Dr. Gregory's spacious library, were also very delightful social gatherings. After the necessary business of the co-operative apartment house was disposed of, there followed conversation of an unusual quality among these old friends who were enjoying their declining years together. Books, men and events of national and international signifi-
cance were

discussed with first-hand knowledge and the ripe wisdom and detachment which is the prerogative of the few to whom old age brings leisure with unimpaired powers of mind and spirit.

Life at the Concord adjusted itself to a pleasant routine. At six each morning, even in winter, Dr. Gregory's saddle hourse was brought to the door and he went for a two-hour ride. At eight he breakfasted. Then the morning was devoted to writing or study. At two he dined with his family, and the rest of the afternoon and evening was given to relaxation, social life, necessary business, or enjoyment of whatever interests the city had to offer. When the weather was fine, as indeed it frequently is all winter in the mild Washington climate, the carriage was ordered and his wife and daughter accompanied him on pleasant drives outside the city. Stormy afternoons were usually spent in teaching or playing with the small girl of the autobiography, who was during these years her father's almost constant companion. Indeed that daughter, even now, when others speak of Dr. Gregory as a distinguished educator and publicist, values in her own heart far more the memory of a wise and dear father who could understand with infinite tact the difficulties of a sensitive and impulsive little girl, share all her dreams and fancies, and open up to her the world's great treasures of legend and history, telling the wonder stories for

her with the simple enthusiasm of a child and the cultivated appreciation of a scholar.

The evenings were usually claimed by guests from the great world of affairs, guests who came to consult Dr. Gregory on all manner of questions. His ripe wisdom and broad experience together with the perfect detachment of his retirement made him a counsellor one would go far to seek. Many important accomplishments with which his name was never associated had their beginning in his quiet study at the Concord. One illustration may serve for many more.

On his return from Europe Dr. Gregory wrote for the Independent an article on the Rural Free Delivery System in Switzerland and elsewhere on the Continent. This article attracted the attention of Postmaster General John Wanamaker, who wrote at once to ask if Dr. Gregory could give him further details of the operation of the system. When Dr. Gregory replied in the affirmative, Mr. Wanamaker sent his private secretary to Dr. Gregory's home in Hyattsville. The secretary remained there some days, during which time Dr. Gregory gave him not only detailed information on the European situation and references for obtaining further data, but many practical suggestions based on his own intimate knowledge of farm and rural life in the middle west and in his native state. Mr. Wanamaker was enthusiastic over the possibilities of the plan

and began at once to introduce it. His 1891 Report records the R. F. D. system on trial in forty six communities. Meanwhile Dr. Gregory wrote several popular articles with the purpose of awakening public opinion to the support of the Postmaster General. One of them, an open letter to the New York Tribune, July 12, 1890, has been preserved.

Dr. Gregory's admiration for Postmaster General Wanamaker as a practical statesman was warmly reciprocated. Indeed the 1891 Report embodies most of the suggestions Dr. Gregory had dictated to the Postmaster General's secretary. But the other great postal reform for which Dr. Gregory wrote and lectured unweariedly, the establishment of postal savings banks, did not come until 1916, nearly a quarter of a century after he began to advocate it.

Dr. Gregory was accustomed to being ahead of his time, however. He built always for the future. What he wrote of the R. F. D. in the article referred to above applies more accurately to the Postal Savings Banks. "It may take twenty years to introduce it, but it will surely come." Nor would the fact that his labors for postal reform were given little recognition and that the reforms when they came were associated with other names have disturbed him in the least. In a similar situation when one of his former students complained that he allowed other men

to take the credit for his labors, he replied in bewilderment, "But what does it matter who has the credit? The work goes on." Indeed it is not unlikely that Dr. Gregory gave his services to Mr. Wanamaker, as he did to many other public men, with a request that no acknowledgment be made.

During these years of comparative leisure Dr. Gregory found time to give his services to many organizations with whose aims he was in sympathy. He was for many years president of the Civic Center in Washington, and under his leadership that association became a notable power for civic improvement. The Civic Center merits at least a passing comment. In his inaugural address as its President, Dr. Gregory defined it as follows:

"The Civic Center, like the Civic Church, proposed by W. T. Stead of England, is designed to serve as a central agency to secure the cooperation of all moral, benevolent and religious agencies and workers for the cure of public evils and the promotion of public good." Elsewhere he describes it as "simply a body of good citizens who have united for the purpose of watching and working for the city as a whole through and with all the agencies and organizations which have been formed or may be formed for the promotion of any branch of the public good." Its membership included the chief officers of the District

government, the Superintendent of Charities, and the heads of various charitable organizations, the Board of Education, and the pastors of most of the churches of the district. Obviously an organization with a purpose so intangible and a membership composed of prominent men and women whose time was already fully occupied could thrive only under a leadership that could give it a unique value. Under Dr. Gregory it flourished and became a recognized force in the life of the district and an intellectual center of the first importance. Many of Dr. Gregory's addresses to the Civic Center are extant, models of practical advice for the improvement of city housekeeping.

Another of Dr. Gregory's important contributions to the intellectual life of Washington was his large bible class for men. This class, in one of the most intellectual churches in the city (Calvary Baptist) has a proud record of distinguished teachers. Since Dr. Gregory, who first gave it its reputation, it has been taught by the Honorable W. W. Brown, Judge Luther R. Smith, and Dr. Edward E. Richardson, professor of philosophy in George Washington University. Dr. Gregory's class consisted of over a hundred men, most of them prominent in the city's affairs, many of them drawn to that church entirely for the sake of Dr. Gregory's lectures. The lectures to this class probably formed the basis for the

series of articles on the Bible and Civics which he published in 1897.

It may be observed at this point that Dr. Gregory's religious beliefs had, with the ripening of his mind, become so far dissociated from the theology of even a very liberal church that he often considered seriously whether he ought not to withdraw from the institution. His eldest daughter with whom he discussed the matter on several occasions says that only the consideration for others who might be pained by such a step prevented his decision and led him to continue to work for a more liberal theology within the church rather than from without.

A pleasant interlude in Dr. Gregory's life in Washington came in 1896. His old friend, Dr. Atherton, professor of English on the first faculty at Illinois, had for some years been president of the State College of Pennsylvania. His health failing, he asked Dr. Gregory to take his place for a year. Dr. Gregory consented, and as Dr. Atherton asked to extend his vacation, the one year lengthened into two. Dr. Gregory very much enjoyed this return to the academic world, the temporary nature of which minimized the tax upon his strength. He loved young men and rejoiced to be with them again; and the students responded with the deep affection and reverence he never failed to inspire in youth.

Twice during these later years Dr. Gregory re-

turned to the University of Illinois which his heart had never left. In 1892 he delivered the baccalaureate address. Dr. Gregory felt the occasion deeply. When he entered the familiar Old Chapel accompanied by Regent Burrill and the great audience rose and remained standing as they passed, he was visibly affected. Standing in his old place from which he had so often spoken to generations of students as dear to him as sons and daughters, he said "My heart is in my throat and I distrust the certainty of utterance."

Yet the address that followed was not reminiscence but challenge, not the wistful benediction to youth from a retired scholar, but a summons to educated young men and women to concern themselves seriously with the great social and economic problems which he could see were threatening the very fabric of civilization.

Once more in 1896 he returned to his beloved university at commencement to welcome yet another academic generation into the high service of the needs of the world. Those who heard him on this occasion have never forgotten the noble eloquence, the breadth of vision that synthesized and transcended what their academic years had taught them. But many there who had loved him through long years, not misled by the dynamic presence and the unchanged bearing of power and dignity, noted sadly how the kind hand trembled, how worn was the radiant face under the

beautiful white hair. Ave, atque vale. Many there understood that this was indeed a father's farewell to his children.

It was in the fall of 1896 that the premature physical old age which had long been threatening the frail body made its most serious inroad. To those who were near him there was something unforgettable in the desperate final conflict of the gallant spirit with increasing physical infirmity. John Milton Gregory never grew old, however his body might falter. Limitations for him existed only to be overcome. All the qualities usually associated with exceptional youth—enthusiasm, aspiration, ability to learn and adapt and grow, the sense of living always at a great beginning—all these he retained beyond the scriptural three-score and ten. At the age of seventy-two he learned Spanish, with the skill of a trained linguist, in six weeks one summer, and thereafter read it with ease and corresponded with Spanish friends in their own language. This made the fifth living language which he kept fresh in his mind by constant reading, besides his Latin and Greek and Hebrew. At the age of seventy-three he somewhat alarmed his family by learning to ride a bicycle and taking that up as a sport in addition to his horseback riding.

But his most gallant struggle with physical old age came in the fall of 1896. That year is still remembered among Washington physicians

as the time when an epidemic of grippe took a peculiar form, attacking old persons and causing complete and incurable paralysis. Many of Dr. Gregory's old friends were stricken and never recovered, spending their remaining days in wheel chairs. When Dr. Gregory's stroke of paralysis came, the doctors, considering his frail strength and advanced years, would not even pretend hope. However, watching the face of Mrs. Gregory as the physicians spoke to her at the door of his room, Dr. Gregory by sheer effort of will regained enough command of the paralyzed organs of speech to say thickly, "You are frightening my wife unnecessarily. I will not permit it." All through the following weeks he did not cease to attempt motion; to speak, to lift his hand, at the least to turn his head. Finally the day came when he suddenly struggled out of the chair, fell, and clutching the door jamb dragged himself painfully to an upright position. His wife and his attendant rushed to his assistance, but he repulsed them almost fiercely. "Dont you touch me. I WILL WALK." His face was grim and rigid with effort; the struggle was terrible to watch. Then the worn out body yielded once again to the dominant will. He stood upright and walked unaided to his couch.

So the struggle went on for days, weeks. The physicians were amazed, as at a miracle. But Dr. Gregory achieved his purpose. So long as

he lived his body was his servant, not his jailer.

There were two more years of the quiet life at the Concord. There is no record of illness, certainly none of failing powers. Yet the biographer could distinguish the letters and lecture notes of these two years by the trembling of the characteristic legible handwriting. The daughter who was a child at home during this time remembers no change in the home life except that the horseback rides gave place to early walks. Still the busy typewriter clicked all morning, still the afternoons were filled with visitors and the affairs of the great world. The book on political economy was nearing completion in its final form. Already the author spoke exultantly of the end of his long and congenial task. But he no longer spoke of other works to be undertaken beyond the task in hand. And although John Milton Gregory's presence was still "like the sunlight" to all who came within the radius of his kindly smile, a faint shadow of anxiety never left the face of his wife. Did she alone guess the effort that each day cost, and know that the busy typewriter was now being driven in a race with death? And death won the race. The book was never completed.

The end came, with quiet beauty, neither abruptly nor lingeringly. Dr. Gregory was confined to his bed for only a few days. There was considerable pain at the last, borne with the se-

renity of one who had had seventy-six years of enduring physical pain and regarded all the ills of the body as insignificant. He would not, however, let those who loved him shrink from recognizing that the end was at hand. Again and again he met their forced optimism by saying quietly "Why should you wish me to stay longer when you know I could not be well enough to work if I stayed? I do not wish to stay when I can not work." His attitude was a rebuke to any grieving. It was as though a master workman who had labored all his life to build great and enduring things now found his worn tools broken in his hand and was fain to lay them aside, and go to seek better tools and new tasks.

On the night of October 16, 1898, the crisis came. In the evening Dr. Gregory took a quiet farewell of his family, with an individual word for each. Then by his wish everyone retired but his wife, and the physicians and nurse. To the last he was perfectly conscious and by far the most serene and unmoved person in the room. Toward morning he said quietly to a physician who was attempting to give him some relief from pain, "There is no need of that now, doctor. This is the end." Instantly, so quietly that those who watched could scarcely realize it, he was gone.

There is little more to tell. Dr. Gregory provided wisely and characteristically for the con-

clusion of his worldly affairs. His will was the expression of his belief that parents owe to their children an education and timely assistance, but not fortune. With the exception of a small legacy to each of his children his property was left entirely to his wife with a request that at her death it should go to the University of Illinois and to Kalamazoo College to establish scholarships in their joint names. This wish had the cordial approval of his wife and children. Mrs. Gregory by judicious management somewhat increased the property entrusted to her care, and at her death the Louisa C. Gregory and John Milton Gregory scholarships were established by her will. Dr. Gregory had expressed a wish that he might be buried in the grounds of the beloved University to which he had given the best years of his life. The Board of Trustees on hearing of this wish passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Dr. John M. Gregory, the first Regent or President of the University, died in the City of Washington, D. C., on the 19th of October last; and

WHEREAS, the deceased had expressed a wish that his remains might have burial within the grounds of the University, and such suggestion has already had the approval of the members of the Board individually, therefore,

Resolved, That the Board of Trustees of the

University takes the first opportunity since the death of Dr. Gregory to renew an official expression of its appreciation of the great debt of gratitude under which the University must always rest to its first Executive. He was endowed in liberal measure with the qualities which were needed to prepare the plans and effect the organization of such an institution. His scholarship, his intellectual balance, his familiarity with public questions, his courage in the face of much opposition, and his skill in debate, laid foundations for a University upon which the superstructure has been continually growing stronger and nobler since he ceased to be so potent in guiding its affairs. His sympathetic nature and his efficiency as a teacher not only endeared him to students, but gave inspiration and direction to their lives. His works will remain after him to do him honor, and his memory must always have a unique and enviable place in our history. His death, even at the end of a long and exceeding fruitful life, fills all friends of the University with sorrow. The Board of Trustees, not only because of its official responsibility and its point of vision, but perhaps more particularly because four of its members were students of the distinguished deceased, is in position to realize the great worth of his services to individuals, to the University, and to the educational progress of the State, and knows how very feeble this

formal action is in adequately expressing it. Not only in an official and a formal way, but with a depth of feeling which we cannot utter, we declare that it was rare good fortune which brought his great gifts to the aid of the University in the days of its infancy; and in the years of its strength it will never cease to cherish his memory and draw inspiration from his words and his example.

Resolved, That his desire to be buried in the grounds of the University is not only significant of his unceasing affection for it, but brings to it the opportunity to secure in larger measure the continuance of his influence upon its life. While any common practice in this direction is doubtless to be avoided, even in the case of strong characters who have exerted telling influence in the affairs of the University, the exceptional prominence of Dr. Gregory in this regard is sufficient justification in this instance. Therefore, the Board directs that burial be made in mason work in the neighborhood of a point south of the line of John street, if projected into the University grounds, and about one hundred feet therefrom, and about midway between University Hall and the west line of the University grounds, and the Board will, as soon as practicable, give appropriate treatment to the grounds in that vicinity and assume the perpetual care of the grave, to the end that it may unceasingly remind

us and coming generations of the virtues of the departed, and forever exert an influence at once mellowing and uplifting in the life of the University. And the executive officers of the University are directed at an early date to carry this action into effect.

Respectfully submitted,
 S. A. BULLARD,
 ALEX. McLEAN,
 ISAAC S. RAYMOND,
Committee.

Adopted:

W. L. PILLSBURY,
Secretary Board of Trustees.

John Milton Gregory lies buried in the University grounds, just by the walk where he passed every day from his classroom in old University Hall to his home on John Street. Just there he turned, on a day in June 1880, to look his farewell at this place of his labors; and seeing the sadness in his wife's face, said with his own radiant smile, "We go. But the University can go on without us now." On his grave his worthy successor, President Edmund Jaynes James, inscribed his name and the words "If you would see his monument look about you."

You, Alumni, remember the day of his homecoming. For you crowded to see his beloved face as he lay in state in the rotunda of the library

building, and to hear his praises in the Memorial Convocation. One of your own number, Judge Charles G. Neeley of the class of 1880, spoke your farewell to him, which may serve as the conclusion of this story of his life which I have written for you who loved him.

“How shall a pupil of this great teacher, recalling the forceful character of the man, his words of gentleness and wisdom, his selfsacrificing devotion, best speak a simple word of just praise? This hall is so familiar and so dear! So often has he stood here to declare some great principle or truth of life! How luminous now do his words seem! They are appealing to us to heed the lessons they taught. There is a difference between recognition and realization. We very readily say we recognize the truth of a statement made, but it often requires years of living and experience to realize the truth of the statement. Those who heard Dr. Gregory, here from this platform, could not understand his wise words until the exigencies of life revealed their worth.

“We must judge of a man after he is gone. He is so near to us when living, that there is no perspective to reveal his true relation. What any man is, must be determined by what he did while it was yet day. Doctor Gregory founded a great university. The very fact that his work outlives him, and will live without him, proves the merit of his work. An institution that perishes

with the builder is little worth while. That it can endure after him manifests the grandeur of conception and its stable foundation.)

"On the 7th day of June, 1880, Dr. Gregory delivered the baccalaureate sermon to our class. We were his audience, though this hall was crowded. He said: 'My text is from St. James: "What is your life?"'—The question came home to each of us, bringing us face to face with the future that lay before us, out in the big, round world, when we should go there to assume duty. Many, many times that question has arisen. What my life is today, or may be, is largely due to his teaching and example. I stand here loving him for what he did for me and for others. I know he loved me. This sweet child of God drew men unto him. He was known and loved and honored on two continents. (His work is done! How well done history shall record! The hand so strong to direct has fallen by his side. The stir of great events shall summon him to duty no more, nor move that great heart again! In these grounds, so dear to him, we shall gently lay him down to sleep. Many feet in the years to come will make pilgrimages here to lay softly on the grassy mound that holds his dust the sweet flowers of spring.)

"*'What Is Your Life?'* Answering I say: Your life was an inspiration to hundreds and thousands of young men and women, citizens of this great republic."

